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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 410



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14 April 1983

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR SHOULD REMOVE 'OBSTACLES' IN TALKS WITH PRC

HK290304 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 12, 21 Mar 83 pp 11, 12

[By Tang Tianri: "Attitude on Sino-Soviet Talks"]

[Text] A Soviet vice-foreign minister declared in Moscow on 3 March that the Sino-Soviet consultations will not concern third countries and that it is a principle of the Soviet Union not to discuss with other countries the problems concerning third countries.

Before this vice-minister's statement, PRAVDA and other Soviet mass media, too, harped on the theme that consultations will not concern third countries.

It seems that the Soviet Union is showing respect for "third countries" by maintaining that the Kampuchea and Afghanistan issues and the problem of Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia are "problems concerning third countries" so they cannot be discussed at the Sino-Soviet talks on normalization of relations. In fact, however, it is a pretext to sidestep these problems.

Threat to China's Security

As is well known, the Kampuchean issue was created by Vietnam, with the support of Soviet-made tanks and artillery. The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea was carried out soon after the signing of a Soviet-Vietnamese treaty of "friendship and co-operation," in essence a military alliance pact, without Soviet backing, Vietnam would not be able to wage a war of aggression in Kampuchea, and hence no Kampuchean issue.

This Soviet support to Vietnam has placed democratic Kampuchea, a third country other than the Soviet Union and Vietnam, under the military occupation of a foreign power and is endangering the security of many other countries in this region including the ASEAN states and China. As China's security is threatened, how can relations between China and the Soviet Union be normalized if they don't touch the Kampuchean issue in the Sino-Soviet talks?

The Afghanistan issue was created by the Soviet Union in a direct surprise attack. Up to now, 100,000 Soviet troops are still controlling the cities, towns and major communication points throughout Afghanistan. This aggression has obstructed peace in the South Asian region and threatened the security of many countries

in this area including China. This is yet another major obstacle to the normalization of relations between China and the Soviet Union. Hence, to realize normalization of relations, the Chinese side naturally must discuss this problem with the Soviet side.

Soviet troops in Mongolia are part of the Soviet forces deployed near China's border areas. They make China the target of their attacks and seriously threaten the security of China and countries in the Far East. Therefore, the Soviet military buildup in Mongolia has gone beyond the scope of the bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Mongolia and constitutes another obstacle to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. How can such a problem not be touched in the Sino-Soviet talks?

The Soviet authorities have time and again discussed with other countries "problems concerning third countries." From 1959 to 1977, leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States held many summit talks and in at least seven of them they discussed the problems of Germany, Berlin, Indochina, the Middle East and Europe. The Soviet Union and the United States are now negotiating in Geneva on the Euromissile issue which concerns Britain, France, West Germany and other European countries. This very Soviet vice-foreign minister himself discussed the Kampuchean issue with officials of Thailand and some other countries during his recent visit to some southeast Asian countries.

Essence of Problems

The essence of these problems is that the problems "concerning third countries," which need to be discussed at the Sino-Soviet talks, all stem either from the use of military force by the Soviet Union or by another country with Soviet support, or from the Soviet deployment of armed forces in other countries. They constitute a grave threat to the security of China and the peace and stability of Asia and the world as a whole.

China's wish to discuss these problems is not an attempt to interfere in the "internal affairs" of the countries concerned, but only hopes to remove obstacles and push forward the process of normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

If the Soviet authorities are sincere in wanting to promote Sino-Soviet relations, they should take real steps to remove the obstacles to normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

CSO: 4000/96

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REPORT ON REAGAN 'INTERIM AGREEMENT' PROPOSAL

UK Hails Proposal

OW310332 Beijing XINHUA in English 0240 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] London, 30 Mar (XINHUA)--Britain today welcomed U.S. President Reagan's new offer on an interim agreement with Moscow to limit medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe and urged the Soviet Union to consider it seriously.

Reagan proposed in a major policy statement in Washington today that the United States and the Soviet Union cut down their intermediate land-based missiles to equal levels as Moscow had rejected his "zero option" for a total ban.

In a statement issued here this afternoon, the British Government promised "wholehearted support" for the U.S. proposal, adding that the initiative followed the closest consultation between the United States and its European allies.

It said that an interim limit on warheads at the lowest level would be a significant achievement in itself and would also contribute greatly to East-West stability and security.

The statement also made it clear that the zero option remained an end goal for Britain.

The interim agreement, it indicated, should "be based on the principles of balance and equality between the United States and the Soviet Union."

The statement said that Britain's objective in the first step would be to reduce substantially the 572 U.S. Cruise and Pershing II missiles planned for deployment in Western Europe from December, this year.

The statement criticised the Soviet Union for showing no readiness to agree to the zero option. "We call on the Soviet Union to consider this important offer with the utmost seriousness and to respond positively when negotiations resume in Geneva," it stated.

West Europe Hails Proposals

OW311248 Beijing XINHUA in English 1229 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Beijing, 31 Mar (XINHUA)--Western European countries reacted favorably to U.S. President Ronald Reagan's new proposal for an interim agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said yesterday that Reagan's proposal showed that the West, while maintaining parity with Moscow, is determined to reduce medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe to the lowest possible level. West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that Reagan's proposal represented a step forward toward renouncing land-based medium-range nuclear weapons by both sides. He hoped the Soviet Union will react favorably to the proposal and contribute to the concrete results which might be achieved soon at the Geneva talks.

The Italian Foreign Ministry issued a statement which said that Reagan's proposal constituted a vital step toward the achievement of peace.

A spokesman of the French External Relations Ministry said that the French Government welcomed Reagan's proposal with great interest. France is following closely the disarmament talks between the United States and the Soviet Union, and was delighted at the efforts directed at the achievement of a resolution in the interest of Europe.

Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans, in a statement, expressed his satisfaction with Reagan's proposal which, he said, reflected the aspiration of the West to see a fruitful outcome of the Geneva talks. He said he hoped that Reagan's proposal will in the end lead to the realization of the "zero option." Now the ball is on the Soviet side, he added.

The Spanish Foreign Ministry issued a communique which called Reagan's proposal "positive," because it "will get the Geneva talks going again and contribute tremendously to the dismantling of nuclear weapons in Europe."

NATO Supports Proposal

OW010406 Beijing XINHUA in English 0221 GMT 1 Apr 83

[Text] Brussels, 31 Mar (XINHUA)--The NATO council "strongly supported" the new proposal of U.S. President Ronald Reagan for an interim agreement at the U.S.-Soviet INF talks in Geneva and urged the Soviets to "consider this offer with the utmost seriousness and respond constructively to it when the negotiations resume."

A statement issued by the council today said that the latest proposal is the result of intensive consultations among allies participating in the special consultative group. It reaffirmed that the complete elimination of the entire category of longer-range, land-based INF missiles remains the optimal solution. The NATO allies also reasserted in the statement to proceed with deployment of the U.S. INF missiles according to the original schedule as provided for in the 1979 decision of the Geneva talks failed to reach a concrete agreement.

However, the statement said, Greece reserved its position and preferred to issue its own statement in Athens.

CSO: 4000/92

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HEAVY BURDEN OF GULF WAR ON IRAN, IRAQ DISCUSSED

OW211054 Beijing XINHUA in English 0733 GMT 21 Mar 83

["Round up: Gulf War Bears Heavy Burden on Both Iran, Iraq--by Correspondent Tang Yongxing"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, 21 Mar (XINHUA)--The Gulf War is apparently a heavy burden on both Iran and Iraq but the world sees no sign for an early settlement to the 30-month conflict.

The war has cost both countries hundreds of thousands of lives and dozens of billion dollars. Western estimates said an average of more than one billion dollars was spent on the war a month for both countries.

The war has resulted in drastic cuts of oil production for both oil exporting countries. In January, 1982, Iran's oil exports fell to between 600,000 and 700,000 barrels daily and foreign exchange reserves dropped to 2 billion dollars from 12.8 billion dollars in 1978. By sales campaign, its oil output reached 3.2 million barrels a day last December with 2.5 million barrels for export, enabling the country to improve its balance of payments.

This year's Iranian budget allocated 9.4 billion dollars for military spending, about a quarter of the total government expenditure. Among the total, about 3.1 billions will be spent on the war.

Iraq's economy also suffers a lot. At present, it can pump only around 650,000 barrels of crude oil a day, using a single pipeline across Turkey to the Mediterranean for export. It produced 3.5 million barrels of oil per day before the war.

As a result, Iraq's hard currency reserves were down to between six and eight billion dollars from more than 30 billion at the height of the oil boom before the war, economic experts in Baghdad estimated recently. Iraq reached an agreement with Turkey in January to expand the trans-Turkey pipeline to a capacity of one million barrels daily from 700,000 barrels. Both countries appear to have the capacity to continue the conflict for some time. But, among other things, the current oil price cuts on the world markets would further impair the war-throttled economies of the two countries.

CSO: 4000/92

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NATO NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP MEETS IN PORTUGAL

Group Meets

OW231008 Beijing XINHUA in English 0821 GMT 23 Mar 83

[Text] Lisbon, 22 Mar (XINHUA)--The twice-yearly regular meeting of NATO's nuclear planning group opened at a Portuguese town Vilamoura today.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and his 12 allied counterparts attended the meeting.

Weinberger reportedly met pressures from the representatives of other NATO nations, who widely favored a new and less ambitious U.S. proposal to the Soviet Union to break a deadlock in arms control negotiations in Geneva.

A senior U.S. official told the press at Vilamoura that the European allies are unanimous in wanting the Reagan administration to make new proposals "in the near future." This was the first time a senior U.S. official ever made such an acknowledgement.

The European allies held that it was impossible to execute the zero option at present, and that new U.S. proposals could elicit new initiatives from the Soviets, according to that U.S. official.

He said the West European ministers rejected as "not serious" the proposal by Soviet leader Yuriy V. Andropov that the Soviet Union cut the size of its intermediate-range missiles in Europe down to about 160 in order to match the combined British and French nuclear forces.

Weinberger said at the meeting that to reach an interim agreement with the Soviet Union might be useful. President Reagan is studying the possibility of the issue but no decision has been made so far, he added.

Only two days ago, the U.S. defense secretary rejected any interim solution. Meanwhile, he urged Britain, West Germany, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands to speed up their preparations for the deployment of 572 Pershing-II and Cruise missiles.

The NATO meeting also discussed the important issue of tactical nuclear weapons. There are 6,000 nuclear warheads in NATO's European arsenal. A U.S. delegation source said the number of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe will be further reduced by the end of the decade but this will depend on the deployment of more medium-range nuclear weapons and conventional weapons.

Meeting Ends

OW241028 Beijing XINHUA in English 0713 GMT 24 Mar 83

[Text] Lisbon, 23 Mar (XINHUA)--North Atlantic Treaty Organization defense ministers ended a two-day meeting of NATO's nuclear planning group today with no compromise solution for the reduction of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

In the final communique issued by the meeting, the ministers offered nothing in the way of new proposals for negotiations with the Soviet Union in Geneva. "For arms control negotiations to be successful, the Soviets must be convinced that NATO is determined to deploy its missiles as planned," the ministers said.

They reaffirmed support for President Reagan's zero option, which calls for non-deployment of Pershing-II and cruise missiles in Europe if the Soviet Union dismantles its Euromissile force. They "welcomed the fact the United States would continue to maintain an active and flexible negotiating position."

The ministers "fully supported the United States' efforts to achieve the total elimination of all longer-range intermediate nuclear missiles and reiterated that in the absence of such an agreement, the deployment of NATO ... missiles would begin according to schedule at the end of 1983."

Ministers "noted that the Soviet proposal to reduce the number of their 'medium-range' missiles in Europe to the number of the strategic systems of the United Kingdom and France was unacceptable. In particular this proposal would result in the virtual elimination of the presence of United States intermediate-nuclear forces from the European continent and thus constitute a fundamental change in the security situation of the alliance."

West German Defense Minister Manfred Woerner called for simultaneous stationing of the first missiles in West Germany, Britain and Italy, to be followed by Belgium and the Netherlands.

The nuclear planning group also studied U.S. Defense Department proposals to dismantle up to 2,000 outdated tactical nuclear warheads, most of which are based in West Germany.

The group is to hold its next meeting next fall.

CSO: 4000/92

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NATO'S LUNS ON MISSILE DEPLOYMENT IN EUROPE

OW302030 Beijing XINHUA in English 1436 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Text] Geneva, 30 Mar (XINHUA)--NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns said here today that if there is no agreement at the end of this year during the Soviet-American Geneva talks, NATO will continue to deploy new-type American-made nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

But he conceded that the possibility for the continuation of the Geneva talks is not excluded.

Joseph Luns was addressing a press luncheon at the Intercontinental Hotel in Geneva when U.S. President Reagan had just put forth a so-called interim solution to the Euro-missile question as a compromise from the original American "zero option" today.

He said that the interim solution first proposed by the West European allies is aimed at "breaking the deadlock" in the Geneva Euro-missile talks. He maintained that the "zero option" is still the best solution. "But in the absence of Soviet enthusiasm to the zero option," he said, "we are looking for an intermediate solution, which might be the first step leading to the ultimate goal of the zero option."

Referring to the need to deploy intermediate-range nuclear missiles, Joseph Luns stressed that if Western Europe has no such weapons to cope with the Soviet SS-20 and nuclear missiles, firstly, "the credibility of our deterrence and dissuasion will be undermined." Secondly, he added, the West will be blackmailed by the Soviet Union. If the United States and the Soviet Union do not agree on the Euro-missile question during the Geneva disarmament talks, and if the NATO's West European member states refuse to deploy the American missiles as scheduled, he said, "the situation will be very grave."

CSO: 4000/92

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UK LABOR PARTY DOCUMENT ON EEC, TRIDENT PROGRAM

OW300832 Beijing XINHUA in English 0813 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Text] London, 29 Mar (XINHUA)--Britain's opposition Labor Party today issued a campaign document which calls for withdrawal of Britain from the European Economic Community, cancellation of Trident nuclear program, rejection of U.S. Cruise missiles and reduction of unemployment.

This policy document entitled "The new hope for Britain" was made public at a news conference here today. It will form the basis of labor's manifesto for contesting the next general election. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will run out in May 1984.

The document pledges that a labor government will open "immediate negotiations" with Britain's EEC partners on its withdrawal from EEC within five years. It also calls for negotiated closure of all U.S. nuclear bases in Britain.

"Labor's commitment is to establish a non-nuclear defence policy for this country," the paper says but acknowledges that "all this cannot be done at once."

The document promises to cut unemployment from 3.3 million to one million in five years, re-nationalize former state industries sold out by the conservative government, expand public investment and construction and rebuild the social services.

However, the labor's election blueprint has received sharp criticism from some London newspapers. THE LONDON TIMES described it as "a dream not a policy."

Michael Hesltine, conservative government's secretary of state for defence, called the labor's policy "a reckless gamble." The Labor Party "wishes to see the end of the NATO Alliance," he said, adding that "the idea that this country's defence policy can depend upon support for NATO which is supposed then not to have a nuclear support from this country, is incredible and would actually lead to the distintegration of the NATO Alliance."

CSO: 4000/92

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CONFERENCE URGES SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

OW291148 Beijing XINHUA in English 1100 GMT 29 Mar 83

[Text] Lisbon, 28 Mar (XINHUA)--An international conference closing here today vigorously condemned the aggressive actions of South Africa against the front-line states.

The meeting also opposed the United States' proposal that Namibia's self-government must be preconditioned by the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

More than 300 representatives from 67 countries, including the Soviet Union and Cuba, attended the three-day conference. The foreign ministers or high-ranking officials from the six front states, Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana were also present at the conference.

Tanzanian Foreign Minister Ahmad Salim said at the meeting that it was wrong for the United States to precondition the self-government of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. "The threat in southern Africa comes from the troops of South Africa, not the Cuban troops stationed in that area," he stressed.

A declaration adopted at the conference strongly condemned the South African troops for their repeated invasion of Angola and continued occupation of southern Angola. It called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from the territory of Angola and urged the international society to increase aid to Angola in material and other forms. The Angolan people had the right to "seek and obtain assistance from other countries" in their struggle for self-defence, the declaration said.

The declaration also expressed anxiety over the assembling of South African troops along the Mozambican borders. It reiterated that the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa posed a grave threat to peace and security in the world.

The conference adopted a program of action which points out that the front-line states must take actions to guarantee an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops. It called for sanctions against South Africa.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN COMMITTEE CONDEMNS RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

OW220258 Beijing XINHUA in English 0240 GMT 22 Mar 83

[Text] United Nations, 21 Mar (XINHUA)--The special committee against apartheid held a meeting today marking the international day for the elimination of racial discrimination.

March 21 was proclaimed by the U.N. General Assembly in 1966 as the international day for the elimination of racial discrimination to commemorate the incident in Sharpeville, South Africa, on March 21, 1960, in which 69 demonstrators against the apartheid system were shot and killed and 180 others wounded.

Speaking at today's meeting, U.S. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar appealed to the leaders and people of South Africa to seek a truly lasting, just and peaceful solution to the situation in their country, in recognition of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all people, irrespective of race, color or creed.

He called on the international community to help ensure the success of the second world conference to combat racism and racial discrimination, to be held in August this year.

Yusuff Maitama-Sule (Nigeria), chairman of the special committee against apartheid, called on all governments, organizations and individuals to join in action for freedom and peace, action in support of the legitimate struggle for freedom in South Africa and in defense of the front-line states, and action in support of the United Nations.

Imre Hallai, president of the 37th session of the U.N. General Assembly, also sent a message to the meeting.

A message from the chairman of the non-aligned movement, read out by Vatsa Purushottam of India, called for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the international community to assist the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

Speaking on behalf of the African countries, James V. Gbeho of Ghana urged the security council to shoulder its responsibilities and to adopt comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ALGERIAN PRESIDENT ENDS VISIT TO TUNIS

OW210956 Beijing XINHUA in English 0824 GMT 21 Mar 83

[Text] Tunis, 20 Mar (XINHUA)--The three-day Tunis tour of Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid ended today showed the trend of unity among North African countries.

In a joint communique issued here this evening, the two countries promised to take joint actions to create an appropriate atmosphere for building a great Maghreb on the basis of unity and mutual respect.

Maghreb, originally an Arabic word meaning "Far West," referred to countries in northwestern Africa including Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Mauritania.

President Chadli and King Hassan II of Morocco, the leaders of two major Maghreb countries, met last month for the first time since their diplomatic relations severed in 1976 over the Western Sahara dispute.

Informed sources here said that Tunisian President Bourguiba had played an important role in the Moroccan-Algerian summit. He sent president of the National Assembly Mahmoud Messadi and minister of the interior Driss Guiga to mediate between the two countries earlier this year.

During his visit here, Chadli and Bourguiba held a series of talks on situation in the Maghreb region. They agreed that the Western Sahara problem should be solved by peaceful means in accordance with the Nairobi resolution of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) adopted in June, 1981. The resolution proposed to adopt concrete measures for a referendum in Western Sahara.

They also expressed satisfaction over the development of relations between the two countries and promised to continue contacts at various levels to strengthen their cooperation and coordination.

Chadli also met Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir 'Arafat and Arab League Secretary General Chadli Klibi.

CSO: 4000/92

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EEC MINISTERS COMPROMISE ON CURRENCY REALIGNMENT

OW211910 Beijing XINHUA in English 1849 GMT 21 Mar 83

[Text] Brussels, 21 Mar (XINHUA)--The finance ministers of eight EEC countries finally reached a compromise here this morning on the realignment of their currencies within the European Monetary System (EMS) after three days of heated discussions, thus paving the way for the timely opening of the EEC summit conference this afternoon.

The realignment is the seventh since the EMS was formed in 1979. Under the system, designed to ensure monetary stability within the EEC, participating currencies can fluctuate against one another only within narrow limits.

By the present realignment, the Deutsch mark will raise its value by 5.5 percent and the French franc is to devalue by 2.5 percent. The Dutch guilder, the Danish krone, the Belgian and Luxembourg franc will be revalued by 3.5, 2.5 and 1.5 percent respectively, while the Italian lira and the Irish pound are to devalue by 2.5 and 3.5 percent.

The finance ministers' emergency meeting had been called by West German Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg to settle the dispute over the parities of the Deutsche mark and French franc, which strained the relations among EMS countries.

The tension in the system began to flare up mid-February on the European financial markets prior to the general election in West Germany and the municipal elections in France. Pressure mounted on the weaker currencies in the EMS immediately after West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's sweeping general election victory March 6. As speculators foresaw the eventual upheavals of the Deutsche mark, the strongest currency in Europe, they rushed to purchase the Deutsche mark, thus sending the French and Belgian francs, the Irish pound and the Danish krone to their floors in the EMS.

The French and Belgian governments spent billions of francs to defend their currencies against devaluation. The Bank of France also raised Eurofranc deposit rates. The Belgian financial authorities imposed strict restrictions on commercial banks' foreign exchange transactions. The West German Bundesbank also took measures to prevent the devaluation of the French franc and other weak currencies in the EMS. It was estimated that the Bundesbank had spent more than 5 billion Deutsche marks defending weaker currencies since the tension started.

These powerful interventions had forced the withdrawal of many speculators. But the mounting turbulence on the foreign exchange markets made the realignment of the eight currencies inevitable.

In the middle of the crisis, France pressed for a solid revaluation of the Deutsch mark by six percent and, if France had to devalue its currency, it should be only by a small percentage and be followed by other countries like Belgium, Luxembourg, Ireland, Italy and Denmark.

Until last week, the West Germans maintained that the imbalance in the EMS was the fault of the French, and that it was up to Paris to take corrective action to discipline its economy.

French finance minister threatened to leave the EMS if his country was pushed too far in the devaluation of its currency without a significant revaluation of the Deutsche mark. The West German finance minister resisted the pressure, fearing a too large revalued Deutsche mark would damage its export trade.

The compromise reached today in Brussels would ease the tension between France and West Germany and bring the EMS to a new stability. However, observers here are of the opinion that the EMS will not be stable if the French Government does not take effective measures to reduce the country's soaring trade deficit, which reached 93 billion francs last year, almost double the shortfall in 1981. About 40 percent of its trade deficit was with West Germany.

CSO: 4000/92

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EEC SUMMIT MEETING OPENS IN BRUSSELS

OW221050 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 22 Mar 83

[Text] Brussels, 21 Mar (XINHUA)--The 25th summit of the 10 EEC member countries opened here today mainly to discuss internal economic situation and wider world issues.

According to sources close to the summit, leaders of the EEC nations discussed at the first sessions this afternoon the EEC's enlargement, the employment situation, the EEC budget and the market for Mediterranean products.

Observers were forecast that the EEC summit would define guidelines on tackling these problems and give the mandate to competent organs.

The two-day summit is presided over by Helmut Kohl, West German Chancellor and executive president of the European Council. It is in session at a time when the community is beset with an uncertain economic situation and the monetary tension within the European monetary system has just been eased with a realignment of currencies of its members.

In a report submitted to the summit, the EEC Commission predicted that the growth rate of the community's gross national product in 1983 will be 0.24 percent instead of the 1.1 percent as forecast last October. In 1982, the growth rate was 0.2 percent.

In addition, the commission believed that the unemployment rate is likely to rise to more than 10 percent this year, thereby forcing up financial expenditures. The report added that the EEC's current balance will probably remain in the red, accounting for 0.3 percent of the GNP this year.

At the second session due this evening, the leaders are expected to discuss the West-East relations, the U.S.-EEC relations, the Euromissile problem and the Middle East.

A spokesman of the EEC Commission said the summit will issue a statement on the Middle East issue, which will express the leaders' impatience with the slow progress of the talks on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and their disappointment with intensified Israeli settlement activity in the occupied Arab territories.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EEC SUMMIT CONCLUDES IN BRUSSELS

OW222006 Beijing XINHUA in English 1913 GMT 22 Mar 83

[Text] Brussels, 22 Mar (XINHUA)--The European Economic Community (EEC) ended its two-day summit here today without achieving any major specific agreements.

West German chancellor Helmut Kohl, the executive president of the summit, told a press conference after the meeting that the summit discussed the continued implementations of the community's comprehensive strategy for reestablishing economic stability, encouraging productive activity and expanding markets.

Leaders from the 10 member nations also discussed unemployment of young people, accession of Spain and Portugal to the community and the reform of EEC's budget.

Referring to the international issues, they called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon and reaffirmed support for that country's sovereignty and independence.

They held that a lasting peace in the mideast can only be built on the right to a secure existence for all states in the region including the self-determination of the Palestinians.

They maintained that negotiations should include the participation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

They also urged Iraq and Iran to cease fire, withdraw their troops to internationally recognized frontiers and seek a just and honorable negotiated settlement.

Speaking of the importance of relations with the United States, Kohl said a genuine dialogue between EEC and the U.S. on farm trade should be maintained on the basis of mutual respect of the agreements concluded following the Tokyo round.

The next summit is to be held in June in Stuttgart of West Germany.

CSO: 4000/92

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARAB LEAGUE DELEGATION TALKS WITH UK'S THATCHER

OW191112 Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 19 Mar 83

[Text] London, 18 Mar (XINHUA)--A nine-member Arab League delegation, headed by King Husayn of Jordan, today had one-hour talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to brief her on the Fes plan adopted by an Arab League summit last September.

During the talks, Husayn asked Britain to lend it "support to the just cause of the Palestinian people...enabling them to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination on their national soil, as well as their right, based firmly on principle, to establish their independent state under the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, their sole legitimate representative."

He said it was necessary to end Israeli occupation of "all the Arab territories occupied in 1967."

Husayn arrived here last night from West Germany, where he held talks with West German leaders.

A spokesman for Thatcher declared that the prime minister "pledged her support for all those willing to take part in Middle East peace negotiations."

The spokesman said Thatcher told Husayn that "there was now a major opportunity to be seized for a peace process in the Middle East," following the decisions taken at the Fes summit.

Thatcher "reaffirmed her government's determination to work for a just and total solution, based on the principles of the Venice declaration (of the European community in 1980) for the right to existence and security for all states in the region, including Israel, as well as justice for the Palestinians, including self-determination," the spokesman added.

A visit by an Arab League mission to Britain was called off last November because the British Government opposed the PLO representation on the delegation.

However, the delegation now in London includes a representative of the Palestinian people, Professor Walid al-Khalidi, who is a member of the Palestine National Council.

The London trip is the last leg of a five-nation tour by the delegation, designed to explain the Fes plan to the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

After the talks with Prime Minister Thatcher, the delegation called on Queen Elizabeth II at the Buckingham Palace.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRANCE'S MAUROY FORMS THIRD CABINET SINCE 1981

OW231353 Beijing XINHUA in English 1249 GMT 23 Mar 83

[Text] Paris, 22 Mar (XINHUA)--Pierre Mauroy tonight formed what he called "a combat cabinet," his third cabinet after the 1981 presidential elections.

The new government team number only 15 ministers compared with 25 in his pre-reshuffled administration. Most cabinet members retain their posts in the new government. The new cabinet contains only two ministers instead of three from the communist party.

One striking feature was the disappearance of Jean-Pierre Chevenement, former minister of industry and research, from the government. It was reported that he tendered his resignation to Mitterand on February 2 because of disagreement on government policy. This confirmed that divergences existed between the president and the socialist left, observers here said.

Pierre Mauroy formed his first cabinet after the socialists won the May 1981 presidential elections. His second cabinet was formed in June of the same year, with three communists joining the government as ministers.

These two administrations had, from the start, pursued a policy of developing the economy by stimulating home consumption. For this purpose, a series of measures were adopted to increase social welfare benefits. Big enterprises and banks were nationalized. But, these measures failed to achieve what they had expected. Inflation swelled, the foreign trade deficit increased, prices went up and unemployment mounted.

Mauroy launched an austerity program last June, but the entire economic situation has not turned for the better.

The setback for the socialists in the recent municipal elections has been considered a warning to the ruling party and a call for a cabinet reshuffle.

The new cabinet will hold its first meeting tomorrow. Junior delegate ministers and secretaries of state will be appointed later.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DEVELOPMENT OF EGYPTIAN OIL INDUSTRY VIEWED

OW300130 Beijing XINHUA in English 0103 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Text] Cairo, 30 Mar (XINHUA correspondent Yu Mingbo)--Petroleum is an important pillar in Egypt's national economy and the nation's largest single foreign currency earner followed by revenues from the Suez Canal, tourism and overseas remittance.

Oil exports last year brought Egypt 2,800 million U.S. dollars, accounting for 19 per cent of its gross national product and ranking top in the government's economic departments.

Egypt has been cooperating with foreign countries in exploiting its oil resources since it launched an "open door" in 1974. Up to now, it has signed some 70 agreements on oil exploitation with 46 firms from 18 countries. Under the agreements, 15 to 40 per cent of the oil output is used to compensate these firms and the government controls the rest.

There are now 45 oil and gas fields in the country, scattered mainly over the Sinai Peninsula, the Suez Gulf and the deserts in the west and east. Oil output went up to 35 million tons last year in comparison with 7.5 million tons in 1974.

The recent oil price cuts in the world market will affect Egypt's national economy. According to government sources, the drop in oil prices would mean a loss of more than 240 million dollars in the current fiscal year and 500 million dollars in the next fiscal year.

Egypt now produces about 750,000 barrels of oil per day, half of which is consumed domestically and the rest for export.

To cope with the present economic difficulty caused by the oil price cuts, the Egyptian Government has recently decided to increase production and rationalize local consumption in order to guarantee more oil for export. Meanwhile, the government is also speeding up oil exploitation on the extensive western desert.

CSO: 4000/92

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHEYSSON'S STATEMENTS ON KAMPUCHEA 'CONTRADICTIONARY'

OW290916 Beijing XINHUA in English 0815 GMT 29 Mar 83

[Text] Beijing, 29 March (XINHUA)--French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson paid a 2-day visit to Vietnam and left Hanoi on 28 March, according to reports received here.

During his stay in Hanoi, Cheysson met Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong and had discussions with Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach on mutual relations and the Kampuchean problem relevant to the situation in Southeast Asia.

At a joint press conference with Thach in Hanoi on 27 March, Cheysson made contradictory statements about Kampuchea. On the one hand he said that like other nations, Kampuchea enjoys the right to decide its own destiny and choose its own government free from outside interference, but on the other hand, he said the Kampuchean nation would not be free without the important contributions made by Vietnam. He also said that it is France's hope that developments in the situation would lead to a pullout of foreign troops from Kampuchea, but he also alleged that France does not want to see a "repetition of horrible disasters" in Kampuchea after Vietnam quits that country. He indicated that France would not have contacts with the coalition government of democratic Kampuchea led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk.

In Bangkok, Cheysson expressed his view that France would not provide Vietnam with any financial aid beneficial to its military occupation of Kampuchea. However, he said in Hanoi that his country hoped there would be no obstacles in providing the 30 million U.S. dollar French aid to Hanoi promised earlier.

Nguyen Co Thach said at a press conference that in his talks with Cheysson, there were common views but they did not have identical views on all issues.

Cheysson arrived in Hanoi from Bangkok on 27 March.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNCTAD DOCUMENT ON LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

OW300812 Beijing XINHUA in English 0731 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Text] Geneva, 30 Mar (XINHUA)--The least developed countries by 1985 will have received only slightly more than half the amount of assistance they require, the secretariat of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) predicted in a document here today.

The document, issued in preparation for the sixth UNCTAD meeting in June in Belgrade, said that according to the Substantial New Program of Action (SNPA) adopted in 1981 by the United Nations on the least developed countries, the least developed countries would need 14.1 billion U.S. dollars per year by 1985 to enable them to double their national income during this decade. However, the level of assistance by that date (1985) is expected to be no more than 8.1 billion dollars, leaving a gap of 6 billion dollars.

Disclosure of the projected shortfall in fulfilling this goal comes at a time when the least developed countries are suffering further deterioration, according to data in the UNCTAD document. In 1981 the value of their exports dropped by more than 10 per cent from 7.4 billion dollars to 6.6 billion dollars and their trade deficit rose from 9 billion dollars to 9.3 billion dollars. In one-third of the least developed countries income per head was lower in 1980 than in 1960.

The UNCTAD document urges those donors who have made specific commitments regarding targets for the least developed countries to fulfill their commitments promptly.

The secretariat also reaffirmed the importance of improving the quality of aid by simplifying aid modalities, providing assistance to the least developed countries in the form of grants rather than loans, and relieving the recipients from the obligation to buy from the donors.

CSO: 4000/92

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DOCUMENTS REVEAL U.S. PROTECTED NAZI WAR CRIMINAL

OW291228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1158 GMT 29 Mar 83

[Text] Washington, 28 Mar (XINHUA)--The United States had protected numerous Nazi criminals after World War II to serve its cold war purposes, State Department documents and cables recently uncovered in the National Archives reveal.

The latest case that drew public attention was about a former Nazi Gestapo chief named Klaus Barbie, who was known as "butcher of Lyons" in France. He was expelled by Bolivia and flown to France last month for trial on charges of causing the deaths of thousands of French Jews and Nazi resisters. According to a WASHINGTON POST report today, the French Government had repeatedly asked the United States to extradite Barbie in 1949 and 1950 but he was allowed to go to Bolivia under a false name a year later.

Numerous documents in the Archives show that the U.S. State Department and army intelligence recruited hundreds of former Nazis and prevented their extradition to Eastern and Western European countries, the report said.

The Archives documents also disclose five German generals were in British and American custody at the end of the war but none was tried at Nuremberg. Poland and the Soviet Union's demands for their extradition were always refused.

An American diplomat was appalled by what he saw at that time, the report said. "It is crystal clear that we have flouted our own commitments and are protecting not only quislings but also people who have been guilty of terrible crimes," said American consul John Moors Cabot in a cable from Belgrade to Washington dated June 12, 1947.

Neither the State Department nor the Justice Department would comment on the documents. Under the pressure of public opinion, the Justice Department is now undertaking an investigation of the Klaus Barbie case.

CSO: 4000/92

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

EGYPTIAN MILITARY EXERCISES--Cairo, 16 Mar (XINHUA)--Egypt is undertaking "the biggest military maneuver" in its history to raise the combat efficiency of its armed forces, according to the Egyptian authorities. Taking part in the military exercises, which started on Sunday and will end tomorrow, are the second and third field armies, air forces, air borne units, shock troops and parachute troops using up-to-date military equipment. The Cairo newspaper AL GOMHOURIA said in its editorial that the second and third field armies had carried out "the most successful Egyptian military operations" in the modern times. They crossed the Suez Canal in the October War in 1973, opening the door to regaining Sinai. "Peace does not mean abandoning force" and the basic task of the Egyptian armed forces is to ensure Egypt's security and defend Arab interests, the paper added. [Text] [OW161537 Beijing XINHUA in English 1353 GMT 16 Mar 83]

OPEC PRICE REDUCTION--Brussels, 17 Mar (XINHUA)--The European Economic Community (EEC) Commission predicted in a recent report that the lowered price of crude oil decided on by the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC) to 29 U.S. dollars per barrel will save the EEC nations 10 billion U.S. dollars in importing oil in the current year. The report indicated that this year, the EEC nations will import 325 million tons of oil, accounting for 37 percent of these nations' total energy consumption, at a reduced cost of 75 billion U.S. dollars. In spite of the oil price cuts, the EEC nations have not slackened their efforts to open up new energy sources. Earlier this week, the EEC ministerial council decided to allocate 100 million U.S. dollars in the use of terrestrial heat, solar energy, tidal energy and wind power. [Text] [OW181854 Beijing XINHUA in English 1843 GMT 18 Mar 83]

PRC AID TO AFRICA--United Nations, 18 Mar (XINHUA)--China today donated 60,000 U.S. dollars as an expression of support to the peoples of Namibia and South Africa in their struggle for national liberation and independence. Half of the sum was donated to the U.N. fund for Namibia, the other half to the U.N. trust fund for Africa, for the year 1983. Two cheques for these donations were presented by Ling Qing, China's permanent representative to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar. [Text] [OW190312 Beijing XINHUA in English 0245 GMT 19 Mar 83]

MOZAMBIQUE ECONOMIC, MILITARY GROWTH--Maputo, 19 Mar (XINHUA)--The ruling Mozambique Liberation Front has decided to regard the development of economy and national defense as its major tasks for 1983. A Central Committee meeting of the front, which ended yesterday, held that Mozambique should make efforts to overcome the negative effects of both the domestic and the international economic situation. The departments in charge of national defense and economic work should coordinate their actions to ensure stable production and national security, the meeting said. Mozambique is facing serious economic difficulties with many factories operating under capacity as well as crop failures. On the other hand, South African troops have made incessant encroachments on Mozambique's territories, threatening its security. President Samora who spoke at the meeting called on the nation to build Mozambique into a country of the Mozambicans without distinction of tribe, nationality, color or region. [Text] [OW201222 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 20 Mar 83]

PLO IN WEST BANK--Tunis, 19 Mar (XINHUA)--The PLO Executive Committee said in a communique today that it decided to reinforce the popular resistance in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza. The decision was made at the 3-day committee meeting starting Thursday under chairman of Yasir 'Arafat. The question of resistance was the main subject discussed at the meeting. The communique said the committee charged some specialized organizations with the task of immediately carrying out the decision. It also decided to send a memorandum to the U.S. Security Council over Israel's dangerous settlement program in the occupied territories. The meeting will continue discussing the PLO's action plans, PLO's relations with Arab countries and other problems. [Text] [OW201902 Beijing XINHUA in English 1834 GMT 20 Mar 83]

HABIB, HUSAYN MEET--London, 19 Mar (XINHUA)--King Husayn of Jordan had one-hour talks on Lebanon and the Middle East in London this evening with the U.S. President's Middle East envoy Philip Habib, who stopped over here to meet the king on his way to Beirut. Earlier today, King Husayn made comments on the slipping U.S. credibility in the Middle East. He noted that the United States had a role to play in helping to find a solution to Israel's continued occupation of Lebanon and its increased settlement in the occupied Arab territories. He would welcome any pressure that Britain or the EEC might be able to put on Israel, he added. The king described his forthcoming meeting with the PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat as "crucial." He expressed the hope that his meeting with 'Arafat would "enhance our joint ability with the support of our Arab brethren to contribute to setting our course." The king disclosed that he had visited Egypt twice since 1979 when a number of Arab countries, including Jordan, broke off diplomatic ties with Egypt over its peace treaty with Israel. On the Arab League delegation's visit to Britain, the king said, the visit had restored traditional Anglo-Arab relations based on close understanding. [Text] [OW200328 Beijing XINHUA in English 0251 GMT 20 Mar 83]

FRENCH OFFICIAL RESIGNS--Paris, 20 Mar (XINHUA)--French Foreign Trade Minister Michel Jobert announced his resignation to the press here today. This is the first important minister to tender resignation since the government of the Socialist Party came to office. Jobert said in a communique that he had presented

his resignation to President Francois Mitterrand on March 17, but had withheld the announcement until the monetary negotiations in Brussels were over. He said he did not feel he had the necessary power to take "coherent and effective" action to deal with France's economic and trade problems. It was reported that Jobert's resignation came at a time when the Mitterrand Government was planning a major cabinet reshuffle. France's economic situation worsened last year, with foreign trade deficit reaching the record 92,700 million francs (12,850 million dollars). Last January alone, the deficit was over 9,000 million francs (1,285 million dollars). Jobert, 61, is president of the small Centralist Movement of Democrats. He had served as foreign minister under President Georges Pompidou from 1973 to 1974. [Text] [OW211214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1153 GMT 21 Mar 83]

PLO REINFORCEMENT--Tunis, 20 Mar (XINHUA)--The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) today decided to reinforce its resistance in the Israeli occupied territories. The decision was made here today at the end of a three-day meeting of the PLO Executive Committee chaired by its leader Yasir 'Arafat. The meeting also decided to take an action among the Arab states to assure the Palestinians of the facilities for them to reside and use in the Arab states, particularly in Lebanon. The committee also decided to take some "important measures" to implement the resolutions adopted at the recent 16th session of the Palestine National Council concerning the PLO's internal unity, its military unity in particular. The committee reaffirmed the PLO's resolve to consolidate its relations with all the Arab nations "for the good of the Arab struggle against the Zionist aggression." [Text] [OW211408 Beijing XINHUA in English 1107 GMT 21 Mar 83]

ZAPU-ZANU MERGER--Harare, 21 Mar (XINHUA)--Cephas Msipa, education secretary of the Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU), urged here yesterday his union and the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) to remove mutual suspicion and work for a merger of the two major parties, according to press reports here today. Addressing a ZAPU rally, Msipa, who is also minister of water resources and development of the Zimbabwean Government, said: "Zimbabwe is greater than ZAPU or ZANU and we both have responsibility to build Zimbabwe, for whose independence we both fought and died." Political slogans alone could not build Zimbabwe, he added. He said: "As long as we look at each other as ZAPU and ZANU, there will be no peace in this country." "We must look at our problems objectively and exert efforts to solve them," he added. [Text] [OW211348 Beijing XINHUA in English 1240 GMT 21 Mar 83]

APARTHEID CONDEMNED--Geneva, 21 Mar (XINHUA)--The international day for the elimination of racial discrimination (March 21) was observed at a special ceremony at the Palais des Nations here today. Attending the U.N.-sponsored meeting were representatives of various countries as well as non-government organizations. Many speakers, especially those from African countries, strongly denounced the policy of apartheid practiced by the racist regime of South Africa. A message from the United Nations secretary-general was read out at the meeting. [Text] [OW220142 Beijing XINHUA in English 0111 GMT 22 Mar 83]

ISRAELI KNESSET ELECTION--Beijing, 22 Mar (XINHUA)--Israel's former ambassador to the United Nations Haim Herzog was elected its next president by the Knesset (parliament) today. The 63-year-old candidate from the opposition Labor Party defeated Rabbi Menahem Elon in a secret vote of 61-57. Herzog's five-year term as Israel's sixth president begins in May when he replaces President Yitzhaq Navon, also a member of the Labor Party. Observers said that the result was a severe blow to Prime Minister Menahem Begin who supported Elon's election. It was the second time that Begin failed to persuade the Knesset to vote for his presidential nominee. [Text] [OW221958 Beijing XINHUA in English 1906 GMT 22 Mar 83]

LEBANESE VISITS TO U.S.--Beirut, 22 Mar (XINHUA)--Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil met U.S. envoy Philip Habib here today. The two men talked for a few minutes, but no details were disclosed. The president earlier met some Lebanese officials including the prime minister and foreign minister. They evaluated the results of the recent visits to the U.S. by high-ranking Lebanese officials. Foreign Minister Elie Salim said here yesterday after his visit to the U.S., Britain and France that the coming two weeks will be crucial for solving the Lebanese crisis. "Washington needs two weeks to persuade Israel to accept the Lebanese argument on security arrangement in the southern area," he said. Former Lebanese Prime Minister Saeb Salam told reporters here Sunday upon returning from Washington that his U.S. visit was "beneficial." U.S. leaders are determined to find a solution to the Lebanese problem before the next presidential election in 1984, Salam said. He said he was convinced that "U.S. credibility will overwhelm Israeli intransigence" because Washington is aware that its credibility is at stake in this region, Salam said. [Text] [OW222012 Beijing XINHUA in English 1900 GMT 22 Mar 83]

FRENCH CABINET RESHUFFLE--Paris, 22 Mar (XINHUA)--The office of President Francois Mitterrand announced a cabinet reshuffle tonight. After submitting his government's resignation to the president, Pierre Mauroy was immediately reappointed and asked to select a new team of ministers. The prime minister has headed the government since President Mitterrand's election in May 1981. The reshuffle follows the devaluation of the franc yesterday in the European monetary system after stormy discussions among EEC finance ministers in Brussels and setbacks to the socialist-communist alliance in municipal elections earlier this month. Analysts considered the reappointment of Mauroy as an indication that the president would be continuing the policy of austerity undertaken last June. The government will be faced immediately with a foreign trade deficit of 93 billion francs (about 14.7 billion U.S. dollars) and the need to continue efforts to control inflation. President Mitterrand will address the nation tomorrow to outline government plans and appeal for public support for the measures. [Text] [OW230256 Beijing XINHUA in English 0247 GMT 23 Mar 83]

GANDHI ON IRAQ-IRAN WAR--New Delhi, 24 Mar (XINHUA)--Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi, in her capacity as the current chairman of the non-aligned movement, will at an appropriate time take certain steps to end the Iraq-Iran war. This was stated in the Lok Sabha (Lower House) today by External Minister Narasimha Rao. He said India was in touch with both countries. Rao said that

India had considered all aspects of the Iraq-Iran conflict. In the next few weeks, discussions would be held through diplomatic channels to bring an end to the war. A political committee headed by India had been set up to work with Arab nations to sort out issues in the Middle East, Rao added. As chairman of the non-aligned movement, India would convene a meeting of the coordination bureau and consultations were being conducted with other non-aligned nations, Rao noted. [Text] [OW241740 Beijing XINHUA in English 1605 GMT 24 Mar 83]

EUROPEAN NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE--Stockholm, 24 Mar (XINHUA)--The foreign ministers of five Nordic countries failed to reach a consensus today on the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe and decided to shelve the issue, reported the Swedish Telegraph Bureau. The decision was made at a one-day meeting of the foreign ministers in Oslo, Norway. Swedish Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstroem told a press conference after the meeting that in the absence of a consensus in principle, it would be meaningless to continue discussion on specifics with regard to a nuclear-free zone. Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said at the press conference that as there have never been nuclear weapons in northern Europe, there is no need to affirm this on paper. The meeting also discussed East-West relations, the Middle East situation, southern Africa and the European security conference in Madrid. [Text] [OW251013 Beijing XINHUA in English 0755 GMT 25 Mar 83]

IRAQI DELEGATION IN MOSCOW--Moscow, 25 Mar (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union and Iraq have discussed the present situation and future perspectives of the Iran-Iraq war which is still continuing, informed sources here said today. An Iraqi delegation led by its national assembly chairman Na'im Hadad left here today for home after a week-long visit. Hadad said during a meeting with Vasiliy Kuznetsov, first vice president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, that his delegation came to express Iraq's wish to "keep and strengthen contacts with the Soviet Union in many respects. Kuznetsov said he believed Hadad's visit to Moscow will contribute to "the consolidation of friendship and mutual understanding between the two peoples." The Iraqi National Assembly delegation is the second senior delegation to visit the Soviet Union following the one led by First Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan last December. [Text] [OW252122 Beijing XINHUA in English 1906 GMT 25 Mar 83]

ALGERIAN-SPANISH COMMUNIQUE--Algiers, 25 Mar (XINHUA)--Algeria and Spain are determined to make the Mediterranean a region of peace and cooperation that will benefit all countries there, by removing all foreign interference, said a joint communique issued here today in the wake of Spanish Deputy Prime Minister Alfonso Guerra's visit here. It said a solution to the conflicts in this region is the primary condition for peace, security and stability in the Mediterranean, and for that purpose the two sides hope the issue of Western Sahara be solved fairly and peacefully on the basis of respect for the relevant decisions by the United Nations and the Organization for African Unity (OAU). The communique said that the two countries are willing to strengthen cooperations in economic, trade, cultural and other fields. They have decided to iron out the disputes on Algeria's supply of natural gas to Spain, which bought only 1.5 billion cubic meters of natural gas from Algeria last year, or one-third of the two's contracted volume. [Text] [OW252048 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 25 Mar 83]

GRENADA MILITARY ALERT--Kingston, 25 Mar (XINHUA)--Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop has put the country's armed forces in a state of alert and told civilians to prepare for a military attack from "counterrevolutionaries" backed by the United States, according to local newspapers here today. In a radio address last night, Bishop appealed to Grenadians to join the militia to defend their country, saying that there was concrete intelligence information pointing to the possibility of an imminent attack on the small spice-exporting island. Linking the United States Central Intelligence Agency to the plot, he said that the agency had assigned at least two officers to coordinate the plan, and was providing money, arms and training for this purpose. The Grenada Government, he added, would launch a large-scale diplomatic and political initiative to alert regional and international public opinion of the "grave threat" posed to the country. [Text] [OW261059 Beijing XINHUA in English 0748 GMT 26 Mar 83]

CSCE MADRID SESSION--Madrid, 25 Mar (XINHUA)--The European security conference broke down again today without reaching agreement on a draft final document proposed by the participating neutral and non-aligned nations. The next session will be held April 19. The draft document, put forward on March 15 as the "last effort" of the above-mentioned countries proposed that the conference close April 27 and be followed by expert meetings on European disarmament and human rights. The United States and other Western countries expressed disappointment at the failure to contain certain demands on human rights in the document, while the Soviet delegation charged some of the participating countries with attempts to "block or unduly prolong" the conference. Spanish delegation leader Juan Pan de Soralue considered the draft document as acceptable though it was one of compromise which could not satisfy all parties. Observers here believed that as the United States and the Soviet Union took an attitude of hostility on disarmament, detente and other international issues, the Madrid follow-up conference could never yield good results. To wind up the conference as early as possible seems to be the strong desire of most participating countries. [Text] [OW261217 Beijing XINHUA in English 1103 GMT 26 Mar 83]

UK ON MISSILE DEPLOYMENT--London, 31 Mar (XINHUA)--Britain should go ahead with the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles if the U.S.-Soviet Geneva talks fail to reach an agreement on their elimination on both sides, Defense Secretary Michael Heseltine said today. In an article in the weekly NEW SCIENTIST, the defense secretary said, "Unless we show that we are determined to proceed with the deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles, there will be no chance of progress in the arms control talks." He added that the deployment of U.S. missiles, scheduled next December, will be a symbol of Washington's commitment to the defense of Europe and will discourage any Russian idea that Moscow could risk a nuclear attack on Europe without involving the United States. In the article entitled "The Price We Pay for Deterrence," Heseltine said that how the year 1983 will turn out will depend largely on the resolve of NATO countries. While reiterating Britain's position in favor of a total elimination of intermediate nuclear missiles in Europe, the secretary indicated that his government will consider other possibilities provided they are fair to both East and West. [Text] [OW311836 Beijing XINHUA in English 1612 GMT 31 Mar 83]

ISRAELI WAR PREPARATIONS--Moscow, 30 Mar (XINHUA)--The Soviet Government issued a statement this evening denouncing Israel for planning to attack Syria and assuring the Syrian people that they are "not alone." The statement said, "Israeli military and political figures vie with one another in making statements about the inevitability of a 'preemptive' war against Syria and about the Israeli army's preparedness for it. Military preparations are being conducted in Israel undisguisedly with the aim of delivering a piratic strike at Syria." It said that the "purely defensive measures taken by Syria in the face of growing threats from Tel Aviv are now being used as a plea" by Israel for carrying out aggression. The statement also condemned the United States for its "unconditional support for the Israeli claims." [Text] [OW310256 Beijing XINHUA in English 0245 GMT 31 Mar 83]

TIKHONOV ENDS YUGOSLAVIA VISIT--Belgrade, 25 March (XINHUA)--Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Tikhonov left here for home this morning at the end of his 5-day visit and signing a document on economic and scientific cooperation with the Yugoslav Government. A communique published this evening said that Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union "have asserted their determination to continue to consolidate and develop relations of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality and non-interference, the principles set down in the 1955 Belgrade declaration, the 1956 Moscow statement and other joint documents adopted during top-level meetings." The two premiers confirmed the desire of Yugoslavia and the USSR to expand economic relations, the communique said. During the visit, they signed a document on the basic lines of implementing a long-term program of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Yugoslavia and the USSR until 1990. The communique noted that the long-term program and the trade agreement (1981-1985) have been implemented consistently. It is expected that trade for the 5-year period will exceed the planned target of 32 billion dollars, the communique added. It said that the two countries will continue "to pursue this course although certain differences exist in their assessments of some international events." [Text] [OW261051 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 26 Mar 83]

U.S. MILITARY 'SCHEMES' HIT--Moscow, 28 March (XINHUA)--Warsaw Pact armed forces Chief of Staff Anatoliy Gribkov today strongly condemned "the extensive schemes that the U.S. Government has recently implemented to expand the military might of itself and its allies." In an article carried in today's IZVESTIA, Gribkov also accused the NATO members in Europe of expanding and strengthening their military forces. The deployment of some 600 U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe will constitute a new threat to the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries and aggravate tension in Europe, the Soviet general wrote. [Text] [OW290840 Beijing XINHUA in English 0727 GMT 29 Mar 83]

SOVIET DELEGATION ENDS SYRIA VISIT--Damascus, 28 March (XINHUA)--The Soviet parliamentary delegation headed by Temirbek Koshoyev, vice-president of the presidium of the supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, left here today upon concluding its week-long visit to Syria, according to radio Damascus. During the visit, the Soviet delegation held talks with leaders of the Syrian People's Council and was received by President Hafiz al-Asad. Koshoyev told newsmen that the realization of a lasting and just peace in the

Middle East should be based on the resolution of the FES Arab summit and the convocation of a Soviet-proposed international conference on the Middle East. He said that the Soviet Union supports Syria "in foiling imperialist schemes in the Middle East." [Text] [OW290749 Beijing XINHUA in English 0719 GMT 29 Mar 83]

AEROFLOT OPERATIONS DESCRIBED--Moscow, 31 March (XINHUA)--Soviet Aeroflot Airlines now fly to 117 places in 94 countries, First Deputy Minister Boris Panyukov of the Soviet Civil Aviation Ministry told a press conference here today. He said Aeroflot has over 350 international scheduled flights every week during the spring and summer seasons using Soviet manufactured Ilyushin-62, TU-154 and TU-134 passenger planes. Since the end of 1980 Ilyushin-86 planes with 350 seats have been put into flight. Airlines from 29 air companies of 31 countries fly to the Soviet Union, who has government-to-government aviation agreements with 100 countries. Soviet aviation ties with African and Middle East countries have got a rapid development in recent years. [Text] [OW311845 Beijing XINHUA in English 1845 GMT 31 Mar 83]

BRITAIN EXPELS SOVIET DIPLOMATS, JOURNALIST--London, 31 March (XINHUA)--Britain has decided to expel two Soviet diplomats and a journalist for "activities incompatible with their status," a term usually taken to mean that they have been engaged in spying activities. British foreign office said in a statement that the Soviet charge d'affaires had been summoned to the office and was told that assistant air attache Colonel Gennadiy A. Primakov was to leave Britain within 7 days and Second Secretary Sergey V. Ivanov of the Soviet Embassy, now not in the country, was not to be re-admitted. Journalist Igor V. Titov has also been told to go. The expulsions will reduce the number of the Soviet diplomats at the Soviet Embassy from 45 to 43, informed sources said. This is the third time in 4 months that Soviet citizens were expelled from Britain, apparently for engaging in spying activities. [Text] [OW010404 Beijing XINHUA in English 0212 GMT 1 Apr 83]

EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE--The Madrid follow-up conference on security and cooperation in Europe was originally scheduled to close in March 1981. However, 2 years have passed since then and the conference has yet to close. Those who have participated in the conference are of course exhausted and even onlookers find it boring. Had the conference not announced an adjournment once more and asserted that "a decisive decision" would be made when the conference was resumed next month, people might have forgotten about it. The conference on security and cooperation in Europe, which is concerned with the issues of security and cooperation in Europe, has lasted for more than 10 years. Have various kinds of weapons in Europe increased or decreased during this period? Have the two big military blocs eased or intensified their confrontations? This is clear to everybody. The conference on security and cooperation in Europe has actually become a place for the two superpowers to indulge in loud and empty talk about European security and disarmament, pretending to be serious, and thereby to denounce and attack each other. Not a single substantive problem has been solved. However, the conference is similar to a chicken rib. It is tasteless, but it is a pity to throw it away. No one is willing to bear responsibility for breaking off the conference or willing to abandon this forum for propaganda. The conference may still continue. That nothing has been finished or accomplished in the conference is precisely a reflection of the endless contention between the two superpowers in Europe. [Text] [HK291324 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Mar 83 p 7]

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANT ROLES OF DEMOCRATIC PARTIES EMPHASIZED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 82 p 1

/Article by staff commentator: "Fully Develop the Democratic Parties' Function"/

/Text/ The five democratic parties in our province, the People's Revolutionary Party, the People's Alliance, the People's Progressive Party, the Peasants and Workers Party and the 3 September Party held an exchange of experiences conference on grass-roots work. Under the encouragement and guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, they summarized and exchanged grass-roots work experiences on the part of the democratic parties. Their spirits were roused and their confidence was strengthened. This had a great effect in promoting a new situation in the work of starting democratic parties in our province.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the democratic parties in our province have organized and done a great deal of work and have aroused the enthusiasm of their vast body of members for serving socialism. They have helped the Party and the people's government to implement various policies, combined ideological and political work closely with work practice, held exchange of experience conferences of various types as well as exhibitions of the results of service to the four modernizations, organized their members in going to factories and rural villages to make visits and conduct interviews and assisted their members in raising their ideological knowledge. On the basis of their individual characteristics, they engaged in consultative and service activities in the fields of science and technology and business management, opened various types of sparetime schools, held lectures on special topics, conducted investigation and research on special topics and presented plans and policies for the four modernizations. All of these are new ideas and developments in the work of the democratic parties that have occurred under new historical conditions. Practice demonstrates that the ways in which democratic parties can make new contributions to the building of socialist modernizations are very broad and have very bright prospects.

The experiences that were exchanged at the conference tell us that full development of a positive role on the part of democratic parties requires, first, reliance on the Communist Party, and, second, reliance on the democratic parties to exercise their initiative, enthusiasm and creativity in their work.

In regions and units in which the Communist Party organization actively supports the work of the democratic parties and in which the democratic parties themselves actively engage in their work with initiative, the work of the democratic parties has been dynamic and full of vitality and has been markedly effective. Otherwise, the function of the democratic parties cannot fully be brought into play. Comrade Deng Xiaoping, in his opening address at the 12th Party Congress indicated: "In future construction, our Party must cooperate with all patriotic democratic parties and patriotic democratic public figures." Senior and middle-level intellectuals account for more than 70 percent of the members of the democratic parties in our province. This indicates the dominant position of talented persons in the democratic parties. We must be good at using this dominant force and bringing it into play so that it can serve the cause of socialist modernization.

Party organizations at all levels must be fully aware of the important position and functions of democratic parties in the new historical period, conscientiously implement the policies of "protracted coexistence and mutual supervision" and of "showing utter devotion and of sharing honor and disgrace," further eliminate the influences of "leftist" ideology, actively support allowing the democratic parties to carry on their work independently and at their own initiative and assist them in working out and providing the necessary working conditions. They must take part in democratic consultations with the public figures in the democratic parties and with democratic public figures without party affiliation concerning the major problems of what should be allowed to flourish and what should be eliminated in their own areas and units and should solicit opinions on various matters on an extensive scale and canvas varying opinions and broaden the benefit so that we can improve our work. Communist Party members, and leadership cadres in particular, should make friends with public figures in the democratic parties and with public figures without party affiliation, and, in a spirit of devotion to them, conscientiously seek to establish good cooperative and collegial relationships with them. It is a principle of our Party to do a good job of establishing cooperative and collegial relationships between the Party and comrades without Party affiliations. Doing a good job of establishing cooperative and collegial relationships requires seeing to it that comrades who are not Communist Party members acquire knowledge, responsibilities and rights and seeing to it that people use all of their talents and that talents are fully used so that we can unite forces from all sectors to strive and struggle for creation of new conditions for socialist modernization.

10019

CSO: 4005/492

PARTY AND STATE

NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION USED AS STANDARD FOR SELF-IMPROVEMENT

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jan 83 p 1

/Article by Shen Guofang /3088 0948 5364/: "Municipal Housing Construction Company Party Members Enthusiastic After Attending New Party Constitution Study Rotational Training Class; New Party Constitution Used as Standard for Self-Examination; Criticism, Self-Criticism Actively Launched"/

/Text/ The Shanghai Municipal Housing Construction Company has been actively implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, conscientiously organizing party members to attend rotational training classes to study the new party constitution, and strengthening the ideological education of party members, all in order to be ideologically prepared for the comprehensive party rectification starting this winter, and to work hard towards realizing a fundamental turn for the better in party workstyle. At present, there has been a great change in party members' mental outlook at this company. Increasingly, it has become everyone's conscious demand of himself to strive to become a qualified party member.

After promulgation of the new party constitution, the party committee of the Housing Construction Company recognized that it was a powerful weapon in strengthening party building and in reaffirming the party workstyle. After hard study, the party committee members immediately organized the cadres of basic level units for concentrated study, and followed up right away by holding all party-member rotational training classes. The rotational training classes helped the members to integrate ideology and practice, and, on the basis of having read through the new party constitution, to emphasize the study of the general program and the first article. They mastered the essence of the spirit of the new party constitution, and became clear on how to truly become qualified party members. During the study discussions, each party member looked back and evaluated his ideological development since entering the party, compared it to the standard for party members, searched out discrepancies, analyzed the causes for them, and unfolded criticism and self-criticism, as appropriate, establishing the direction of his efforts for the future. All rotational training classes were conducted both in a serious yet lively fashion in which everyone was enthusiastic.

The comrades of this company party committee believe that if rotational classes are to be run for party members to study the new party constitution, then the

classes must be held very conscientiously; if held half-heartedly, practical results will not be obtained. The comrades have performed a whole series of practical and painstaking work:

--Before the beginning of the rotational training classes, the company party committee organized work groups, and surveyed and analyzed the ideological slate of all party members in the company. The committee thus has obtained a fairly good idea of the ideological state of the more than 200 party members, and of the main problems of the party members.

--The end of autumn to the beginning of winter is the prime season for outside work, when production duties are more demanding. The company party committee decided to take out over 100 party members dispersed throughout the first production line, and have them attend the rotational training classes in groups, according to plan, and at the same time make reasonable production arrangements to ensure the completion of duties.

--The company party committee secretary and deputy secretary and the leading cadres of the organization and propaganda departments became personally involved by preparing drafts and giving lectures; and having a definite object in view, they conducted some relatively systematic, positive education.

--The company party committee deputy secretary, the work group members and party branch committee member leaders of all basic level units also singly sought out some 30 party members in the class for individual talks, and had outstanding party members and party members from advanced units take the lead in integrating ideology and practice. They took on a guiding function in the discussion, and at the same time clearly pointed out shortcomings and problems of some party members, inspiring them to consciously use the new party constitution for self-criticism, and to raise their ideological enlightenment.

Many party members showed a high level of political enthusiasm towards attending the new party constitution study rotational training class. The rotational training class is located near the western suburbs, and it took some party members more than 2 hours in travel time, but not once was anyone late. During the study process, everyone spoke his mind freely, and conscientiously considered and analyzed the opinions held by the people around him towards himself, and found out how he fell short of being a qualified party member. There was a security cadre of a construction brigade who had been working relatively well, but recently he began to stress the difficulty of his work and hesitated to press forward. After studying the new party constitution, he revealed his own true thoughts. As it turns out, it was because he was not chosen to be the union chairman. Also, he felt that security work was toilsome, and that it was easy to offend others in doing it. He came to realize that a Communist Party member cannot give thought to personal gain or loss, and had to work hard and not be upset by criticism, struggling all one's life for the work of the party, resolving to correct one's shortcomings and do one's job well. Some uneasy young party members in housing construction work expressed that from now on, for the benefit of the country and the people, they wanted to be happy in whatever line of work they might be doing, and to strive for achievement in housing construction.

At present, the Housing Construction Company Party Committee still is continuing its work of using the new party constitution in party member education. Toward the end of December last year, they organized personnel to go deeply into the grassroots level and take a survey of the performance of the party members who attended the rotational training class after they returned to their units, to gain understanding. Right after New Year's, they called a basic level party branch secretary meeting, and asked that the study of the new party constitution be included in the activity agenda for the period immediately following. They open-mindedly listened to opinions from comrades outside the party, and, using the new party constitution as a measuring stick, held criticism and self-criticism sessions. In addition, they asked that the basic level party branch revise the original program regarding initiation into the party branch and party groups under the branch, and emphasized striving to become outstanding party members, based on the spirit and content of the new party constitution, so that this activity will continue to be conducted even more effectively.

12326

CSO: 4005/468

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' INDICATES PARTY MUST OBEY CONSTITUTION

HK300929 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Lin Yicui [2651 0110 5050]: "Several Questions Concerning Need for the Party To Operate Within the Limits of the Constitution and Laws"-- passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] It is explicitly stipulated in the new party constitution that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th CPC National Congress: "The stipulation in the new party constitution that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state's embodies a most important principle. It is impermissible for any party organization or member, from the Central Committee down to the grassroots, to act in contravention of the constitution and laws. The party is part of the people. It leads them in making the constitution and laws which, once adopted by the supreme organ of state power, must be strictly observed by the whole party."

The guiding principle that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and laws is of utmost importance to the activities of the whole party and must be strictly observed by all party members. For this reason, it is necessary to solve the following problems in particular.

1. /It is necessary to correctly handle the relationship between the party and the state./ Ours is the ruling party. It takes the leading position in all spheres of the state. However, as pointed out by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, "the party is not an organ of power which issues orders to the people, nor is it an administrative or production organization." Only through the powerful state organs can our party exercise its leadership over the state. If the party weakens or takes over the functions and powers of the state organs, it is weakening and even relinquishing its leadership over the state. Therefore, to correctly and better exercise the party's leadership over the state, efforts must be resolutely made to do away with the malpractice of making no distinction between the party and the government and substituting the party for the government and to rationally divide the work between the party and the government. It is imperative to firmly ensure that the state organs are

supported in fully rendering their services under the leadership of the party. No party member or organization should infringe on the powers of the state organs stipulated by law. No party member or organization should hinder the state organs from exercising their functions and powers according to law. An important cause of the outbreak of the decade of internal disorder was that the party's activities had gone beyond the limits permitted by the constitution and laws and that the state organs had been deprived of their normal functions and powers. This lesson must be remembered forever.

2. /It is necessary to correctly handle the relationship between the party's leadership and the implementation of the constitution and laws./ The constitution and laws are formulated by the people through the organs of state power under the party's leadership. Once promulgated and put into practice, they are binding on all organizations and citizens. The party's leadership should proceed from the political, ideological and organizational angles to guarantee strict observance and implementation of the constitution and laws. It is a gross mistake to interpret the party's leadership in such a way that the party committees at all levels may take no heed of the constitution and laws and override them. This is explicitly laid down in Article 5 of the new constitution: "All state organs, the armed forces, all political parties and public organizations and all enterprises and undertakings must abide by the constitution and laws. All acts in violation of the constitution and laws must be looked into." "No organization or individual may enjoy the privilege of being above the constitution and laws." Of course, where necessary, the constitution and laws should be revised and amended when the situation has developed and changed. The "abolition, revision and formulation" of the laws is an invariable tendency of the development of the legal system. The party assumes extremely great responsibility in leading the "abolition, revision and formulation" of the laws. However, the "abolition, revision and formulation" of the laws must be carried out through the state organs and in strict accordance with the legislative procedures. No party organization or member is permitted to abolish, revise or formulate laws under the pretext that certain parts of the contents of the laws in force are incompatible with the new conditions. Before a law has been officially revised, the party members and organizations are not permitted to run counter to it. When a law has been officially revised, they should immediately put the revised law into force. The party's leadership over the "abolition, revision and formulation" of the laws should be in keeping with its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and laws.

3. /It is necessary to correctly handle the relationship between the party's leadership and the administrative and judicial departments' exercise of their functions and powers according to law./ Strengthening and improving the party's leadership over the administrative and judicial organs is an important guarantee for properly carrying out administrative and judicial work. The party should exercise leadership by seriously considering the major question of ensuring that the administrative and judicial departments strictly carry out the constitution and laws. It should pay attention to these main points: analyzing and studying the political and economic situation and public order in different periods and guiding the administrative and judicial departments in correctly applying the

laws; examining the implementation of laws and relevant principles and policies by the administrative and judicial departments and helping these departments sum up their experiences, add to their achievements and correct their mistakes; helping the administrative and judicial contingents to develop ideologically, organizationally and professionally and to continuously increase their political consciousness and professional capability; supporting the courts and procuratorates in independently exercising their functions and powers according to law and surmounting interferences coming from different directions; helping the administrative and judicial departments in handling controversial, doubtful or important cases. All major problems concerning administrative and judicial work must be studied and decided by the party committee and not by a single individual. The party committees do not have to look into ordinary cases. Of course, the administrative and judicial departments should actively report their work to their party committees, seek advice from them and accept their correct leadership. However, they should express their opinions when they see that the party committees or some leaders have made wrong decisions or put forth wrong opinions which run counter to the constitution and laws. Persisting in acting according to law is entirely in keeping with supporting and obeying the party's correct leadership.

4. /It is necessary to correctly handle the relationship between the party's policies on the one hand and the constitution and laws on the other./ It is entirely essential for the party's leading organs to put forth correct principles and policies according to concrete conditions to guide the work in various spheres. For example, in view of the situation in which serious cases of murder, arson, robbery, rape, use of explosives for illegal purpose, economic crimes, and other crimes harmful to public order occurred in the past few years, the party Central Committee put forth the policy of promptly inflicting severe punishments according to law on the elements committing these crimes, so as to create favorable conditions for directing the administrative and judicial departments in correctly carrying out the relevant provisions in the "criminal law" and the "law of criminal procedures" and effectively bringing the role of the laws into play as a weapon in punishing the criminals. Practice shows that this policy has produced remarkable results in improving public order. However, the party's policies should not go against the spirit of the constitution and laws which are now in force. The policies which run counter to the constitution and laws must be resolutely corrected. In order to correctly handle the relationship between the party's policies and the laws, the following principle should be enforced: cases should be handled according to the laws where specific stipulations are laid down; when a policy serves as a guide to the laws, it should be carried out under the conditions of abiding by the laws; when a policy is contradictory to the laws, only the laws are observed; where no stipulation is laid down, the policy should be followed.

5. /It is necessary to correctly handle the relationship between observance and study of the laws./ One must first study and understand the laws before one can really and strictly observe them. All party members and cadres, especially the party's leading cadres, should diligently study the constitution and laws. Due to various historical causes, a considerably large number of our party members

and cadres lack fundamental knowledge of the laws and have a dim concept of the legal system. It is now time for them to make up the lesson they have missed. We must take the laws as a compulsory, basic course for us to study, so that we can gradually learn the basic contents of the constitution and laws and the theories on the science of law and master the art of applying the laws as a tool in carrying out our work. To achieve this goal, we must attend formal training where possible and carry out study by making use of all our time available. We must respond to the call of the party Central Committee, actively go into action, seriously and consciously study the constitution and laws and turn ourselves as quickly as possible to be models in studying, understanding and abiding by the laws.

CSO: 4005/671

PARTY AND STATE

LECTURES ON NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION PRESENTED

Ninth Lecture

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Nov 82 p 3

[Article on the New Party Constitution "Ninth Lecture: On Party Members' Duties"]

[Text] The duties of party members are fundamental demands made on party members by the party. They are namely responsibilities party members should fulfill in respect to the party. Prescribing party members' duties is to draw a concrete boundary line as to how to become a qualified party member and thereby determine the norms of conduct by which party members should abide.

In the 3rd article in the chapter on "Party Members" eight duties of party members are stipulated. All these eight duties are rather strict.

Why does the new Party Constitution provide such strict stipulations. This is because it has taken into consideration the following situations which our party now faces. First, our party has already taken on the status of the party in power guiding the national regime. This status on the one hand determines that the party's activities have a great deal to do with the people's benefits and gains and that it shoulders even greater responsibilities. On the other hand, it also makes it very easy for our party members to face the danger of harboring the ideas of being divorced from the masses and plotting for private gains. Second, during the 10 years of internal turmoil caused by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, in which they attempted to usurp the party and seize power, took advantage of the serious mistakes committed by the party at the time in order to engage themselves unscrupulously in feudal-fascist, anarchical and factional-splittism activities. They randomly trampled on party regulations and party laws, abolished party leadership, and thereby caused the party organizations, the party members' conception of our party character, and the party's fine traditions and work-style to suffer serious damage. Such remnant poison has by no means been all cleansed away at present. Third, leading the people of the whole country to create a new situation in socialist modernization is a both glorious and formidable task. To accomplish this task, we must rely on our party to formulate and implement correct line, principles and policies and do a good job in our organizational undertakings and propaganda and educational work. We

must also rely on every one of our party members giving full scope to his roles as vanguard and model.

Compared to the ones provided in previous Party Constitutions, many new contents have been added to the eight duties prescribed by the new Party Constitution.

For example, along with the party member's duties the new Party Constitution, in addition to prescribing that all party members must "conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought," requires that all party members must "study essential knowledge concerning the party, and the party's line, principles, policies and decisions, and acquire general scientific, cultural and professional knowledge." This has been absent from all previous Party Constitutions, and it also constitutes a new demand made on us by the new historical period. This is because, in order to realize the socialist four modernizations, we must understand the party's line, principles and policies and acquire general scientific, cultural and professional knowledge and other capabilities commensurate with the requirements of our own work so as to become both Red and expert.

In the second duty, while prescribing that party members must "adhere to the principles that the interests of the party and the people stand above everything, subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the party and the people," the new Party Constitution also adds the content of asking party members to "be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, work selflessly for the public interest, and absolutely never use public office for personal gain or benefit themselves at the expense of the public." This is because our party today leads the national regime and it is possible for some party members to use their public office and work to seek personal gain and "take advantage of things." This stipulation by the new Party Constitution is meant precisely to prevent and overcome such a practice.

In the fourth duty of party members is also added the content that they must "firmly oppose factionalism and all factional organizations and small-group activities." This is provided because during the period of the 10-year internal turmoil the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques unscrupulously resorted to factional activities, split the party and set the people apart, and thereby cause serious damage to party unity. Today, while the unity of the whole party has greatly improved, this type of phenomenon still has not been eliminated. In order to further enhance party unity, it is necessary for the Party Constitution, on the basis of historical lessons and the party's current situation, to provide strict regulations in this regard.

In regard to party members' sixth duty, the new Party Constitution's provisions are far more concrete and well-rounded than the ones stipulated in the 11th Party Congress constitution, which merely prescribed that party members should "maintain close ties with the masses and consult with them when matters arise." The new Party Constitution has added contents such as those bidding party members to "listen to the views and demands of the masses with an open mind and keep the party informed of them, help the masses to raise

their political consciousness, and defend their legitimate rights and interests." This is very necessary in having close ties between the party and the masses and in leading the masses to realize our socialist modernizations.

In the party members' eighth duty, it is especially emphasized that "in order to defend the motherland and the interests of the people, it is necessary to step forward and fight bravely in times of difficulty and danger, fearing neither hardship nor death." This is because in an environment of peace the revolutionary spirit of certain comrades within the party has declined somewhat and they are therefore no longer prepared to rush ahead of everyone else in the interests of the people, nor do they dare any longer to engage themselves in struggle. In response to such a situation, the Party Constitution has thus provided such a regulation. This is of great significance to maintaining the glorious image of our party amidst the masses.

The reason why the new Party Constitution adds all such new contents to the "duties of party members" and makes such strict demands on our party members is to improve the quality of the rank and file party members, enhance our party's fighting strength, and thereby do a good job in rebuilding our party. Marx said: "One step in a practical movement is far more important than a dozen programs" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 3); the question that lies in front of everyone of our party members now is to put these provisions into practice. If these provisions remain provisions and our conduct remains our conduct with neither having anything to do with the other and with ourselves behaving in our old ways as usual, then no matter what great duties our party members may have been provided, they will remain struggles on paper and useless in reinforcing the party character of our party members or improving our party's leadership. Every party member must faithfully abide by the duties prescribed by the Party Constitution. Generally speaking, veteran party members and leading cadres are, after years of revolutionary testing and education by the party, the ones whose ideological consciousness is higher than that of new party members and general party members. However, according to provisions of the new Party Constitution, not everyone of these comrades is necessarily automatically qualified. Insofar as the leading cadres are concerned, they too face the question of having to make strict demands on themselves according to the provisions under the eight duties. In implementing these duties of party members, party cadres at various levels should do a better job than ordinary party members.

Tenth Lecture

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Nov 82 p 4

[Article on the New Party Constitution: "Tenth Lecture: On the Party's Organizational System"]

[Text] Chapter II of the new Party Constitution points out: "The party is an integral body organized under its program and constitution on the principle of democratic centralism. It implements a high degree of centralism on the basis of a high degree of democracy." In studying this chapter, we must

endeavor to understand the basic principles of democratic centralism and other pertinent concrete provisions in order to make these principles and provisions the norms of conduct for our party organizations and everyone of our party members.

Today, the whole party has more than 39 million members. In order to keep comrades of the whole party in step with one another, the only correct principle is to have "individual party members be subordinated to the party organization, the minority be subordinated to the majority, the lower party organizations be subordinated to the higher party organizations, and all party organizations and party members be subordinated to the National Congress and the Party Central Committee." Among these four instances of subordination the most important is to have all party organizations and party members be subordinated to the National Congress and the Party Central Committee. This is because the National Congress and the Party Central Committee are the supreme leading organs of our party and the leadership core of the people of the whole country. Only when all our party members unconditionally subordinate themselves to the party's resolutions and decisions and resolutely implement the line, principles and policies formulated by the party can they think consistently and pool their ideas and coordinate their efforts in accomplishing the party's various tasks.

Another principle of the party's organizational system is that the party's leading bodies at all levels should be elected. Ours is a party that practices a high degree of democracy; the party's affairs should be handled by the vast number of party members as masters of their own house, and the elections must truly embody the will of the electors. In order to achieve this goal, the new Party Constitution provides concrete regulations on elections within the party. One is that the lists of candidates must be submitted to the party organizations and voters for full deliberation and discussion so as to guard against people who had profited by following Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in rebellion and those whose factionalistic thinking remains very serious, those "beating, smashing, and looting" elements, as well as those who have opposed the party Central Committee's line adopted since the Third Plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, plus those who have seriously violated law and discipline in the economic realm and other aspects from becoming mistakenly nominated as candidates. Second is the practice of having a greater number of candidates than that of the persons to be elected. A third is that voters must have the right to understand the backgrounds of the candidates, demand a change or reject one in favor of another; that elections must be held by secret ballots to make certain that voters can cast their votes without any worries; and that no organization or individual shall compel voters to elect or not to elect any particular candidate and thereby encroach upon their rights. Fourth is that if any violation of the Party Constitution occurs in the election of delegates to a local party congress, the party committee at the next higher level shall, after investigation and verification, decide to invalidate the election and take appropriate measures, and the decision must be reported to the party committee at the next higher level for checking and approval before it is formally announced and implemented. This way, it should be possible for us to promptly prevent

and correct certain erroneous conduct such as violation of the Party Constitution, engaging in non-organizational activities, manipulating elections and suppressing democracy.

The new Party Constitution also prescribes that organizations at a lower level must be subordinate to organizations at a higher level, but organizations at a higher level must guarantee that organizations at a lower level can independently exercise their functions. Here, what is important is that organizations at a lower level must resolutely implement decisions made by organizations at a higher level. If lower organizations consider that any decisions of higher organizations do not suit actual conditions in their localities or departments, they may request modification. If the higher organizations insist on their original decisions, the lower organizations must carry out such decisions and refrain from publicly voicing their differences, but, while carrying out such decisions they may report to the next higher level of organization. Of course, the party's higher organizations must regularly listen to the views of the lower organizations and masses of party members and timely solve the problems they raise. When making decisions on important questions affecting the lower organizations, the higher organizations must solicit the opinions of the lower organizations so as to have decisions by the higher organizations in greater accord with actual conditions in the latter's localities. Except in special circumstances, higher leading bodies should not interfere with matters that ought to be handled by lower organizations; measures should be taken to ensure that the lower organizations can exercise their functions and powers normally. Between organizations of the higher and lower level, they must exchange information, support each other and supervise each other so as to achieve harmonious relations between the levels without any gap.

Adherence to the party's collective leadership is an important organizational system long implemented by our party. Within the party, from the Central Committee on the top to the party branch at the basic level, whether one is a responsible comrade of a party organization or an ordinary committee member, whether one is a veteran comrade or a new one, everybody is a member of the party and his relationship to the organization can only be like that of a cell to the whole body. All party members must put themselves individually under the strict leadership and management of the organization and accept the party organization's constraint and supervision. Adherence to collective leadership does not necessarily mean abandonment of teamwork and divided responsibilities between individuals. Every leading member of a party organization, when a party committee discusses and decides on a question, must actively offer his own views and his own suggestions by publicly expressing his own political opinions; with respect to decisions made by a party committee, too, every committee member must conscientiously organize his own efforts of implementation. We must not, because of our emphasis on collective leadership, resort to "joint responsibility" and passing the buck back and forth and thereby shun any contradictions among ourselves; nor should we take refuge in teamwork and divided responsibility by making decisions on important questions individually and thereby resorting to dispersion.

In view of our party's historical lessons, any form of individual worship is prohibited throughout the party ranks and this is also fixed as a part of our organizational system. This is an important decision relating to our overall situation. Whether or not political life within the party is normal relates to the fundamental question of the destiny of our party and state. Leaders at all levels of our party are public servants of the party and the people. Therefore, in the political life of the party and state, we must practically guarantee that the activities of party leaders at all levels be placed under the supervision of the party and the people so as to prevent anyone from resorting to any form of individual worship, we by no means negate the role of a leader. While opposing individual worship, every Communist must at the same time protect the prestige of all leaders who represent the interests of the party and the people. The Central Committee elected by the 12th Party Congress, including its Political Bureau, the Standing Committee and Secretariat of its Political Bureau, is composed of leaders upheld by the people of the whole country. Everyone of our party members must resolutely protect the prestige of our new Central Committee and its leaders.

Eleventh Lecture

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Dec 82 p 4

[Article on the New Party Constitution: "Eleventh Lecture: On the Party's Organizational Structure"]

[Text] By the party's organization structure we mean the party's central organizations, the party's local organizations, and the party's basic-level organizations and leading party groups. This lecture is concerned only with the central organizations, the local organizations, and leading party groups.

1. Party congresses at various levels. In the whole country, there is the National Party Congress; at the local levels, there are the provincial, autonomous region and direct municipality jurisdiction party congresses, plus county, autonomous county, municipal and direct municipal jurisdiction congresses. All these congresses at the three levels are together called local congresses at various levels. The new Party Constitution provides six functions and powers for the National Party Congress. As for functions and powers of local party congresses at various levels, except the absence of those to amend the Party Constitution and, in the case of those below the provincial level, to elect advisory committees, all other functions and powers are similar. The only difference is that the former has jurisdiction over the whole nation, whereas the latter all have jurisdictions only over their own respective local areas. The National Party Congress is the party's supreme leading organ and it possesses within the party ranks the supreme decision power, electoral power and supervisory power. Local party congresses at various levels are local leading organs of the party; within organizations of their own level, they too enjoy corresponding decision, electoral and supervisory power and hence are in possession of great powers. Committees and commissions for discipline inspection from the central to the local levels

and advisory committees at the central and provincial levels must be elected by corresponding congresses. Their powers are conferred by congresses at their corresponding levels and all their work must be accountable to congresses at the same respective levels. These congresses have the right to require them to obey their own decisions on all questions. However, some comrades fail to understand the party's organizational system, thinking that these congresses can only elect some committee members, pass some resolutions, and fulfill some legal procedures. They therefore often fail to convene these congresses at the prescribed intervals. Such a view is incorrect. We should correct it through our study of the new Party Constitution and really strengthen the party's congressional system.

2. Party committees and advisory committees at various levels. According to provisions of the Party Constitution, the Party Central Committee and local party committees at various levels are the highest leading organs of the party when party congresses at the central and local levels are not in session. Party committees at all levels and their regular organs are all elected and collectively empowered. They are all accountable to the leadership collectives from which they get their authority. They all exist as collectives and practice the principle of collective leadership. In order to practice collective leadership, the new Party Constitution also stipulates: Plenary sessions of the Party Central Committee and local party committees at all levels must be held at least once a year; there shall be established a Central Secretariat which attends to day-to-day work of the Central Committee under the direction of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee; the Party Central Committee chairmanship shall be changed to a General Secretaryship with this General Secretary of the Central Committee convening the meeting of the Political Bureau and its Standing Committee and presiding over the work of the Central Secretariat. This manner of doing things has many benefits; it guarantees the party's collective leadership institutionally.

The new Party Constitution also has another important provision, and that is the establishment by the two levels of the Party Central Committee and provincial, autonomous region and directly under municipality jurisdiction committees of advisory commissions. It also prescribes the nature, tasks, status of such advisory commissions and conditions for membership in them. The party's Central Advisory Commission acts as political assistant and consultant to the Central Committee; provincial, autonomous region and directly under municipality jurisdiction advisory commissions act as political assistants and consultants to party committees at their respective corresponding levels. Working under the leadership of the Central Committee of the party, the Central Advisory Commission puts forward recommendations, on the formulation and implementation of the party's principles and policies and gives advice upon request, assists the Central Committee in investigating and handling certain important questions, propagates the party's major principles and policies inside and outside the party, and undertakes such other tasks as may be entrusted to it by the Central Committee. Advisory commissions at the provincial level work under the leadership of party committees of the same level and their functions and responsibilities parallel those of the Central Advisory Commission. This establishment of advisory commissions is of profound and

far-reaching significance to our party's prosperity and development as well as the supply of successors. Our party today is situated in a new historical period of creating an overall new situation in our socialist modernizations and at the same time in a period of cooperation and replacement between the new and veteran cadres. Solving well the problem of this turn-over from veteran to new cadres is an important task which presents itself before the entire party. With such advisory commissions thus established, it will be possible for us to better develop the role of veteran comrades with rich political experiences and that would be of great benefit to the training and fostering of a large contingent of successors to ensure the long-range continuity and stability of our party's line, principles and policies, and thereby guide us always to advance in the direction pointed out by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

3. **Leading Party Groups.** The new Party Constitution provides that a leading party group shall be formed in the leading body of a central or local state organ, people's organization, economic or cultural institution or other non-party unit. The main tasks of such a group are: to see to it that the party's principles and policies are implemented, to unite with the non-party cadres and masses in fulfilling the tasks assigned by the party and the state, and to guide the work of the party organization of the unit. The most important point by which a leading party group is differentiated from a party committee is that the former is not a party committee at any particular level. In terms of work and responsibility, the party committee shoulders the responsibility of uniformly leading the work of the areas and units under its jurisdiction, whereas the leading party group merely exercises a guiding role. While fulfilling its own duties and accomplishing the tasks charged to it by the party and state, the leading party group mainly relies on its own exemplary function and ideological and political work in influencing and persuading comrades within and without the party to follow given administrative procedures and turn party directives into the decisions of their respective administrative organs or leading organs of other non-party organizations. Nor is there a direct relationship of leadership between a leading party group and a counterpart of its subordinate unit. In terms of the method of its formation, a party committee is elected, whereas members of a leading party group are appointed by the party committee that approves the establishment of such a leading party group. A leading party group must obey the leadership of the party committee that approves its establishment. This establishment of leading party groups, generally speaking, is extended to state organs (such as ministries, commissions, bureaus and offices under the direct jurisdiction of the State Council), people's organizations, economic and cultural institutions at the central level; local people's governments and people's organizations at the county level and above; and leading organs like departments, bureaus, commissions and offices under people's governments at the provincial level. To establish leading party groups in such non-party organizations makes it possible for us to strengthen our party's work in the leading organs of these non-party organizations and thereby ensure the implementation of our party's line, principles and policies. It likewise makes it possible for us to improve the sense of responsibility on the part of the non-party responsible cadres in these departments and thereby give full scope to their enthusiasm and creativity. It also helps party members

and cadres shouldering leadership work in such non-party organizations to prevent the workstyle of bureaucratism and commandism, to foster the good workstyle of treating others equally and being good at cooperating with non-party cadres.

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CSO: 4005/631

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING TV REPORTS 13 MAR BEIJING RALLY ON MARX

[Editorial Report] HK150316 Beijing Domestic Television Service in Mandarin at 0700 GMT on 13 March 1983 begins a live transmission of a Beijing rally held to commemorate the centenary of the death of Karl Marx. This 88-minute television program is entitled "The Capital Holds a Grand Rally To Commemorate the Centenary of the Death of Marx--(live broadcast)."

This program, monitored from relatively poor video reception, opens with a medium shot of Deng Xiaoping and former Vietnamese leader Hoang Van Hoan applauding and walking toward their front-row seats on the rostrum of the main auditorium of the great hall of the people in Beijing. During this shot, a female attendant is shown following Hoang Van Hoan and Hu Yaobang is shown walking behind the female attendant. Next, while Deng Hoang and Hu are shown taking their seats, Li Xiannian, Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li are seen walking toward their front-row seats.

The film then gives a long shot of the rostrum. During this shot, a very large portrait of Marx is seen hanging on a heavy curtain behind the back row of the rostrum. The portrait is flanked by 10 Red flags. This is followed by a medium shot of Deng Xiaoping, Hua Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang sitting in the front row of the rostrum. Hu is seated on Deng's left-hand side and Zhao is seated on Deng's right-hand side. Next, while Deng is shown speaking with Zhao, and Hu is shown scanning some papers in front of him, Wang Zhen is seen passing a passageway behind the three leaders' front-row seats. After this, Yang Shang-kun (in PLA uniform) and Yu Qiuli are also shown passing the passageway between the front and second rows.

After another long shot of the rostrum, the film gives a medium shot of Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang and Hoang Van Hoan sitting in the front row. During this shot, Hoang is seen sitting on the right-hand side of Zhao; Gu Mu is seen sitting in the second row of the rostrum; and Huang Hua, Liao Chengzhi, Deng Liqun, Banqen Erdini Qoigyigyanca, Chen Pixian and Rong Yiren are seen walking toward their seats on the rostrum. This is followed by a long shot of the rostrum and a close-up shot of Zhao Ziyang, Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and Li Xiannian sitting in the front row. During this close-up shot, Hu is seen chatting with Li, who is seated on Hu's left-hand side; Zhao is seen looking at his wristwatch; Zhao, Deng, Hu and Li are shown turned round and looking at their right side; Hu is seen asking Zhao to look to the right; Zhao is seen looking in that direction and turning his face to Hu to ask for some instructions from Hu; Hu is seen nodding to Zhao in approval; and Zhao is then seen

and heard declaring the rally open and ordering the playing of the Internationale.

After that, a military band is seen and heard playing the Internationale. During the playing of the song, Deng Xiaoping is seen standing at the center of the front row. Standing on Deng's right-hand side in the front row are: Zhao Ziyang, Hoang Van Hoan (with a female attendant standing behind him), Xi Zhongxun, Wei Guoqing, Fang Yi, Yang Dezhi (in PLA uniform), Song Renqiong and Chen Muhua. Standing on Deng's left-hand side in the front row are: Hu Yaobang, Li Xiannian (with a female attendant standing behind him), Wal Li, Wang Zhen (with a male attendant standing behind him), Ulanhu, Yang Shangkun (in PLA uniform), Yu Qiuli, Liao Chengzhi (with a female attendant standing behind him) and Yao Yilin (with a male attendant standing behind him). Deng Liqun is seen standing at the center of the second row behind Deng Xiaoping. Standing on Deng Liqun's right-hand side in the second row are: Gu Mu, Chen Pixian, Qiao Shi, Hao Jianxiu, Li Weiha (being assisted by an attendant), Li Jingquan (being assisted by a female attendant), Peng Chong, Seypidin, Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, Xu Deheng, Hu Juewen and Lu Dingyi. Standing on Deng Liqun's left-hand side in the second row are: Mijat Sukovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia; four unidentified foreign guests: Ji Pengfei, Huang Hua, Zhang Aiping, Banqen Erdini Qoigyi Gyancan and Zhu Xuefan.

After the playing of the Internationale, Zhao Ziyang is seen and heard asking "Comrade Hu Yaobang to make a report." Hu is then seen and heard reading his lengthy report entitled "The Radiance of the Great Truth of Marxism Lights Our Way Forward." (see first ref) While Hu is heard delivering his report, the camera occasionally plans to show leaders on the rostrum and many people and foreigners in the main auditorium.

In the latter half of this program, Li Xiannian is no longer seen sitting on the left-hand side of Hu Yaobang. The seat is empty.

[HK150318] After Hu's report, Zhao Ziyang is seen and heard saying: "Comrade Hu Yaobang today made a very good and very important report. I hope that the whole party and people throughout the country will do well in studying and grasping its essence. All units must conscientiously organize the study and discussion of the report. I now declare the rally over." The program then ends with a long shot of many people in the auditorium standing up.

Beijing Domestic Television Service in Mandarin at 1100 GMT on 13 March carries at the beginning of its regular evening newscast a 7.3-minute filmed report which is largely a summarized version of the 88-minute live television program about the Beijing rally on Marx held in the great hall of the people. The 7.5-minute filmed report gives medium shots of the following leaders sitting in the third row of the rostrum of the main auditorium: Kang Keqing, Xiao Ke (in PLA uniform), Rong Yiren, Wang Ping (in PLA uniform), Chen Xilian (in PLA uniform), Zhou Peiyuan and several other CPPCC National Committee vice chairmen.

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG OFFICIAL'S ARTICLE ON SUPPORTING REFORMS

SK291020 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by Wei Jianyi, secretary of the Jinan City CPC Committee, entitled: "Enthusiastically Support the Reform"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: In this new year, new progress should be made and a new atmosphere, new contributions and new achievements should be made in various fields of work so as to add new luster to our great cause. To this end, a major task is to successfully carry out reforms in various spheres and promote and bring along our reform work to create a new situation. At present, all fronts in our country are deliberating on and carrying out reform and large numbers of cadres and the masses are looking forward to reform with great enthusiasm. This has become a historical trend that cannot be blocked. This new situation demands that the broad masses of cadres, leading cadres at all levels in particular, stand in the forefront of reform, enthusiastically support, participate in and take the lead in carrying out reform and that they be promoters of progress and men of action in this respect.

Over the past few years, Jinan City has achieved some results in carrying out reform in the sphere of economy, such as greatly reforming the system, policies and operational methods for agriculture and popularizing the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output. Meanwhile, various plants and enterprises have learned from the experiences of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Plant and introduced the economic responsibility system, resulting in some achievements. In urban areas, however, the problems of "eating from the same big pot" and "iron ice bowl" have not been completely solved. Even in the reform of agriculture, some improvements are still needed. Now we are faced with a very arduous task for reform. Reform is needed not only on the economic front, but also at party and government organizations, political and judicial departments and labor, personnel, educational, cultural and public health units. The existing problems are: Some comrades fall short of the development of the current situation, lack understanding of the importance and urgency of reforms and are affected by the force of out-dated habits. Some have no end of misgivings, approach new situations with "leftist" ideas and fear that the reforms will lead to capitalist force. For these reasons, it is necessary to further study the instructions of the party Central Committee, enhance our understanding of the important significance of reforms, heighten our consciousness, stop acting blindly, consistently eliminate the influence of "leftist" ideas, and foster a firm ideology of carrying out reforms in a resolute, all-round and protracted manner so as to achieve success in the reform in all spheres.

The ongoing reform aims at eliminating the practices of "eating from the same big pot" and "iron rice bowl" to better implement the system of distribution according to the work, bringing the initiative of enterprises and the masses into full play to promote the development of production and at building the socialism that conforms to the practical situation of our country. For a long time past, the practices of "eating from the same big pot" and "iron rice bowl" have brought up many lazy, idle and foolish persons, seriously dampened the masses' enthusiasm and adversely affected the development of productive force. Worse still, for a relatively long time, we have not only failed to understand this defect but, on the contrary, regarded the practices of "eating from the same big pot, "iron rice bowl" and egalitarianism as the superiority of socialism and thus protected and popularized them. This lesson is very deep. For instance, the 100-odd enterprises of the Jinan City Second Light Industrial Bureau, which have over 40,000 workers and staff members in total, had originally implemented the systems of independent accounting and assuming sole responsibility for their profits and losses. In the period of "cultural revolution," in the name of "transition" and "promotion," these enterprises implemented the system of unified responsibility for profits and losses and made tens of thousands of people eat from a common big pot. As a result, the enthusiasm of enterprises, workers and staff members was dampened, production stagnated and quite a few enterprises ran at a loss. Since the third plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee, these enterprises have boldly carried out reform, changed the unified responsibility for profits and losses to independent accounting and the system of assuming sole responsibility for their profits and losses and introduced the systems of being responsible for production cost and contracted responsibility with remuneration linked to profits. In each of the past 3 years, these enterprises have increased their profits at an average rate of over 10 percent.

The reform should promote production and ensure a revenue increase for the state. This is a major principle that we must follow as well as a criterion for the success or failure of reform. Whether or not we can increase revenue hinges on many factors and lots of work is needed in this regard. The key to ensuring a revenue increase for the state lies in correctly handling the relations among the interests of the state, enterprises and workers and staff. Only when the revenue increase for the state is ensured can the enterprises retain more profits and can the workers and staff gain more income. This is called "the state getting more profits than enterprises and the enterprises getting more profits than individuals." In the previous stage of reform, some enterprises and workers have tried to lower their contracted and fixed production quotas and to raise the proportion of retention to some extent and have forgot the principle of the state getting the most. Leading cadres of some enterprises have even one-sidedly accommodated themselves to such a backward situation. This problem should not be neglected. We must repeatedly stress and resolutely implement the principle of the state getting the most.

To achieve great results in carrying out reform in various spheres, we must firmly and unswervingly follow the party's mass line, have faith in and rely on the masses and value the initiative of the masses. In this reform, we should guard against the mass movement, the practice of doing things in a massive and unplanned way and the practice of rushing headlong into mass action.

The party Central Committee pointed out: The general principle for our reform carrying out reforms in line with practical situations and in an all-round, systematic, resolute and orderly manner. Carrying out reforms in an overall manner is a new task. The reform in urban areas is more complicated than that in rural areas. Our experience in this aspect is insufficient. Therefore, leading cadres at all levels must regard the work of reform as a major event, personally attend to this work, go deep to grassroots units to investigate and learn about practical situations, be meticulous in giving guidance to the units that carry out reform on a trial basis, try to find out new problems in a timely manner, sum up new experiences and solve new contradictions to open up a new situation. In the course of reforms, those methods that have been proved correct should be carried out boldly and resolutely and should never be changed. Those new problems that can be solved by the units themselves should be solved as soon as possible. In the future, we will adopt the measure of handling affairs on the spot in order to solve the problems cropping up in the course of reforms in a timely manner and to protect the initiative of cadres and the masses at the grassroots units. In particular, carrying out reforms in an all-round manner will affect the work in all fields. Thus, all of the units at higher and lower levels and in the front and in the rear should cooperate with one another, overcome the practice of disputing over trifles, enthusiastically support the reform and develop an excellent situation in the reform.

CSQ: 4005/675

PARTY AND STATE

ORGANIZATIONAL REFORM DESCRIBED IN TERMS OF REVOLUTION

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 14 Nov 82 p 1

/Editorial: "Organizational Reform is a Revolution"/

/Text/ On the basis of the unified plan of the CPC Central Committee, the work of organizational reform of organs at all levels in our province has formally begun. This organization reform is an important undertaking for assuring the comprehensive creation of a new situation for socialist modernization and construction and is a major undertaking which people are being organized to carry forward the revolution cause and forge ahead into the future on the basis of the line in order to assure that the cause of the Party will flourish and develop and that the state will long remain in a state of order. Party organizations of various units of provincial level organs must conscientiously strengthen their leadership, and, during the period from November to February this winter, we must conscientiously devote ourselves to this great undertaking.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has clearly pointed out simplifying organization is a revolution. However, it is a revolution directed toward organizations and systems and it is not a revolution directed toward people. This judgment by Comrade Deng Xiaoping is very important. Socialist modernization requires increasing productive forces on a wide scale and it also requires changing production relationships and superstructure that are not suited to expanding productive forces and changing all unsuitable modes of management, modes of activity and modes of thought. For various reasons, over the past 10 to 20 years, organizations in our province have become bloated, administrative levels have come to overlap each other, there have come to be more people than work for them to do and there has been an increasing serious trend for work responsibility to be unclear. There has been an increase of 46.4 percent in various types of organizations of provincial level organs as compared to before the "Cultural Revolution" and there has been an increase in the number of cadre of 49 percent as compared to before the "Cultural Revolution." The fact that the work efficiency of organs is low and there is severe bureaucratic work style has resulted in corrupt practices in the sphere of the superstructure, has affected manifestation of the enthusiasm of the cadres and masses and has hindered development of productive forces. If we do not resolve to undertake organizational reform, the programs, line, principles and policies proposed by the Party at the 12th Party Congress cannot be implemented in a

practical way and a new situation in the building of socialist modernization cannot be realized. The CPC Central Committee, upon consideration of the overall situation and as the result of careful thought and planning, made the decision to implement organizational reform from top to bottom and proposed this to the entire Party as an assurance for upholding the course of socialism and for concentrating our forces to undertake the building of modernization. This is entirely correct. We must come to a deep understanding of the far-reaching significance of this revolution and join in organizational reform in a revolutionary spirit.

The first condition for doing a good job of organizational reform is to organize the cadres in making a conscientious study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress and of the spirit of relevant directives of the CPC Central Committee, in unifying their ideology and in unifying their knowledge. At present, many comrades are ideologically prepared for organizational reform and understand that reform is imperative and that it must be carried out. However, there are still some muddled ideas among the ranks of the cadres. For example, some cadres believe that simplifying organization is a long-standing, big and difficult problem and that if it is not done well errors may be committed and people may be offended. There are also comrades who stress the special nature of their own units and that simplification should start with someone else's unit. There are also comrades who have given a great deal of thought to retaining and dismissing individuals but who have given comparatively little thought to the overall situation of reform of organs and systems. This indicates that there are some comrades who have still not fully understood the great significance of organizational reform. If we do not raise problems of understanding, the revolution of organizational reform will be difficult to carry out well. Therefore, we must through a study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress and of the relevant directives of the Central Committee on organizational reform in order to come to an understanding of their spirit and essence, to unify ideological knowledge and to strengthen consciousness of doing a good job of organizational reform. It should be seen that since organizational reform is a revolution, we will inevitably run into various difficulties and resistance. However, this cannot shake our resolve to undertake this revolution. The CPC Central Committee conscientiously summarized the experiences of history, proposed a series of correct principles, policies, measures and steps for this revolution and also took the organizational reform of the CPC Central Committee organs as our model. If we stick to managing affairs in accordance with the Central Committee directives, consider the revolutionary cause to be important, make individual interest subordinate to the long-term, basic interests of the whole, fully believe in and rely on the masses and adopt correct methods, we will then definitely be able to overcome difficulties and do a good job of the revolution of organizational reform.

The most important link in doing a good job of the revolution of organizational reform is to select and appoint the capable on the basis of the principle of having a small but highly trained corps and of the requirement for making the cadre rank younger in average age, more revolutionary, better educated and professionally more competent /for modernizations/ in order to deploy and

build a leadership group. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the leadership groups at all levels in our province have undergone substantial readjustments several times and there have been some changes in the appearance of things. However, conditions are still not well enough suited to the requirements of achieving modernization. The aging of leadership groups is also a comparatively serious. According to statistics, the average age of leadership cadres in departments, party committees, managing government departments and bureaus in the provincial level organs is 59.1 years, with 50.6 percent of them being over 60 years of age. Whether in departments and bureaus or offices and directly subordinate units, there are groups of comrades who, because of old age, physical infirmity and loss of vigor, cannot stand up to 8 hours of regular work. At the same time, among the leadership groups, there are still the problems of low educational levels and general lack of specialized knowledge in and professional capacity for modern management. The situation described above constitutes a sharp contradiction with the requirements for leadership work in a new historical period. This makes it necessary for us to be resolute about boldly and firmly selecting new groups of middle-aged and young cadres who have both ability and political integrity and who are capable of creating new conditions on the basis of a policy of making the cadre rank more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. We must also solve the problems of cooperation and replacement of new and old cadres and make leadership groups at all levels into fighting command posts that are resolute in implementing the line of the 12th Party Congress. The key to doing a good job of this work is to further free ourselves from old ideas and to continue to eliminate the "leftist" ideological influences in the handling of the problems of intellectuals. We should be aware that promoting outstanding middle-aged and young cadres is essentially promoting outstanding intellectuals. The building of material and spiritual civilization cannot be done without intellectuals. If we do not select outstanding intellectuals for leadership posts at all levels, then the state cannot realize the "four modernizations" and the strategic target of quadrupling will be difficult to achieve. The principal responsible cadres of Party organizations at various units must personally take responsibility for this matter. They must free themselves of old ways of thinking, broaden the fields of vision, open all avenues for people of talent, keep to the standard of having both ability and political integrity and select people of talent from all fields without sticking to one pattern. They must not select them only from Party and government systems and they must not select them from the small circle of persons with whom they are well acquainted. Those who have made their names through rebellion, those who have serious factionalist ideology, smashers-and-looters, those who oppose the party line adopted since the Third Plenary Session and those who have engaged in serious illegal activities should absolutely not be candidates for selection and absolutely cannot be promoted. Not one can be promoted. All those who must be removed from the posts they are now occupying are persons who have violated criminal law and who must be investigated and dealt with on accordance with the law. On this point, we must keep clear heads and take a firm and unshakable attitude.

Relying on old comrades and allowing old comrades to play a full role will be a decisive factor in the smooth implementation of organizational reform. In

the organizational reform of central organs, there are many old comrades who take a broad and long-term view, who stress the overall situation, who keep the public interest in mind and who are active in recommending and promoting competent individuals. They should serve as our models. During this organizational reform of provincial level organs, our old comrades, like the preceding generation of proletarian revolutionaries, will have to nurture a noble air and an enlightened moral integrity. Their self-conscious and enthusiastic support in terms of their seniority and prestige and of their capabilities will not be as good as having our own comrades come forth to take the heavy burden from them and to make contributions to the long-term stability and prospering of the Party and the nation. Our cadres must gradually adopt the custom of taking the initiative in retiring from their posts when they reach a certain age. Our old comrades certainly want to carry the revolution through to the end. However, this is not to say that they must be on the front lines until the end. Our old comrades who are aged and physically debilitated should be engaged more as investigators and less as commanders. They should devote their energy and time to doing more work in maintaining links with the masses, and, when necessary, making suggestions to and helping the middle-aged and young cadres. The leadership comrades on the front lines must accord full respect politically to the old comrades who have retired to the second and third lines as the CPC Central Committee has frequently stressed and should receive allowances for their livelihood. In addition, varied measures should be adopted so that they can continue to play their roles.

This organizational reform, which is of great consequence, is a stern test of Party spirit for all Party members and cadres. During the organizational reform, each comrade must strengthen his sense of organization and discipline. Before the plan for organization readjustment is announced, everyone must stand fast at his post, remain devoted to his duty, work with his mind at ease and assure that there will not be any errors in either organizational reform or everyday work.

10019

CSO: 4005/492

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGXI RIBAO' URGES PEOPLE TO BE PROMOTERS OF REFORM

HK181552 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 17 Mar 83

["Excerpts" of undated GUANGXI RIBAO commentator's article: "Serve as Promoters of Structural Reform"]

[Excerpts] The structural reform work of organs at the regional level has commenced in an all-round way. As in structural reform in all places throughout the country, in the reform of organs at the regional level it is necessary to basically reform our system of administration, including the system of economic administration, the system of leadership work and the system of cadres. This is a profound revolution. The cadres have wholeheartedly supported reform.

However, some situations worth attention have emerged. Some comrades have not proceeded from the overall situation, but from the situation of their own departments and units. They have always wanted to maintain their own organs. They have mistakenly held that if reform is needed, only other departments and units can be reformed and if abolition is needed, only other units can be abolished. Some have not seriously studied the shortcomings in the establishment of current organs. In reform, they can break through old conventions and so on. These problems must be urgently solved. If we can sum up many years' experiences in the light of the situation of our own departments and units and clearly understand the shortcomings in the establishment of current organs, we can heighten our spontaneity for reforming organs.

Some other comrades have not been determined to curtail their organs. They have held that when work develops, it is necessary to increase the number of organs and personnel. This view appears to be reasonable. However, judging from the overall situation and the specific situation of many departments, this view does not conform to reality. With a view to promoting the development of the four modernizations, we cannot take the old road of increasing the number of organs and personnel, but must take the new road of building crack and efficient organs which meet the needs of the four modernizations. In structural reform, we must do new work for new things.

Reform is imbued in the whole process of the four modernizations. No matter what work we are doing, we must have the spirit of reform and bringing forth new ideas. We carry out reform for the development of the cause of the party and the people. Therefore, our cadres, particularly leading cadres, must stand in the front line of reform and do well in the structural reform of organs at the regional level which is being carried out.

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE ON RURAL AREAS' POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL WORK

OW281259 Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Mar 83 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Penetratingly Educate the Peasants on Giving Consideration to State, Collective and Individual Interests--Further Discussing the Need to Strengthen Ideological and Political Work in Rural Areas"]

[Text] Today, an important aspect of the ideological and political work in rural areas is to educate the peasants on giving consideration to state, collective and individual interests.

Since the introduction of the responsibility system of linking contracts to output in rural areas, the broad masses of peasants have planned their production according to the state plan and they are eager to sell their agricultural and sideline products to the state. Their contributions to the state have been significant. However, in some localities where ideological and political work has slackened, certain new problems regarding the relations of state, collective and individual interests have appeared. The fairly prominent problems are: certain areas have not set aside acreage large enough for grain production according to the state plan, but have overly expanded the area for economic crops; certain localities have failed to fulfil the state's purchasing quotas, but have sold their products at negotiated prices or prices set for above quota purchases, thus increasing the state's burden; certain localities have retained little money--or nothing at all--for the collectives, thus affecting the accumulation of public fund and the development of welfare services; and in certain localities, land and other public property and facilities have been misappropriated and abused. Such phenomena show that it is quite essential to earnestly educate the cadres and the masses on paying attention to state, collective and individual interests.

Certain comrades worry that emphasizing the need to give consideration to state, collective and individual interests might bring them back to the old path since they have just eliminated the "left" mistakes and corrected the trend in which individual interests were seriously disregarded. This worry is unnecessary because we emphasize here the need to give consideration to state, collective and individual interests, and not the interests of any of these; giving consideration to state, collective and individual interests is a policy determined by the nature of socialist production relations. While we must acknowledge that each of these three has its own relatively independent and irreplaceable

interests, and that we should not favor any one and be prejudiced against the other, we must realize that state, collective and individual interests are interrelated and mutually conditioned. Take growing crops, for instance. If we grow our crops according to the state plan--that is, producing enough cereal crops and appropriately expanding the area for economic crops--the state, collectives and individuals will all benefit. On the other hand, if we do not follow the state plan, but thoughtlessly reduce the acreage for cereal crops and overly expand the area for economic crops, the outcome would be seriously detrimental to collective and individual interests, as well as those of the state.

While educating the peasants on giving consideration to state, collective and individual interests, we must decide what should be emphasized in the course of education according to the actual situation in different localities. In those localities where state interests have been seriously disregarded, the emphasis should be placed on giving consideration to state interests. Particular attention must be directed to educating the peasants on fulfilling the state plan and making them understand that the fulfillment of the state plan not only guarantees state interests, but also those of all collective economic units and the numerous rural families. For those localities where the state's production and procurement plans have been quite successfully fulfilled but the collective interests have been disregarded, the emphasis of education should be placed on helping them to pay attention to collective interests. The peasants in these localities should be helped to understand that collective interests are closely related to their own. For example, if no collective fund is retained, construction of water conservancy projects and other larger agricultural construction projects, the popularization of agricultural science and technology and the development of cultural and welfare services in the rural areas will not be possible. In localities where mistakes caused by the "left" influence have not yet been completely corrected, individual interests are still disregarded, the peasants are still overburdened and their legitimate economic rights and interests are not protected, cadres there must be educated to protect the peasants' legitimate rights and interests. In short, we stand for giving consideration to state, collective and individual interests and oppose only heeding the interests of any one of the three.

CSO: 4005/675

PARTY AND STATE

SCIENTIFIC IMPLEMENTATION OF IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK STRESSED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jan 83 p 4

/Article by Li Weisheng /2621 4850 3932/: "Ideological-Political Work At Institutions of Higher Learning Must Be Carried Out Scientifically"

/Text/ Institutions of higher learning are shouldering the important task of training qualified talent for the four modernizations. In order to complete this task, while continuing to improve the quality of education, it is necessary to strive to improve the quality of ideological and political work, and to carry out ideological and political work at institutions of higher learning more scientifically.

During the early days of the founding of the state, our Party had paid special attention to ideological education for young students, and political work indeed had begun to have a leading and ensuring effect, but later we began to comprehensively exaggerate the reaction of the spirit and the superstructure on production relations. During the 10-year period of turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advocated "the omnipotence of the spirit theory", comprehensively stressed that all school work was for changing the student's ideology, and advocated the theory that class struggle was "a major subject"; the scientific carrying out of ideological and political work at higher institutes was distorted so that methods became simple and crude, and it was easy to take "the open road of mass criticism", causing ideological and political work to lose prestige. Since the smashing of the "gang of four", for a time the ideological trend was that ideological and political work at higher institutes was "not essential", but it was corrected very quickly and ideological and political work recovered its proper position. We must conscientiously summarize the historical experience, carry on the good traditions of ideological and political education which have been established since the founding of the country, and according to the current characteristics of college students, bravely practice, energetically explore, and scientifically carry out ideological and political work at higher institutes.

Then how can ideological and political work at higher institutes be carried out scientifically?

First, it is necessary to establish an integrated system of contents in ideological and political education for college students. This system must

both reflect the fundamental laws of ideological and political education, and suit the current ideological reality of college students. Moreover, in accord with the requirements to scientifically carry out ideological and political work, it is necessary to strengthen and improve the Party's leadership in ideological and political work, to establish a vigorous ideological and political work force, to fully bring into play the effect of the broad masses of teachers in teaching both the book and the person, to further strengthen all kinds of school rules and regulations, etc., and these things are all undoubtedly inevitable and proper.

Second, besides the necessity to study and grasp the fundamental tenets of Marxism, ideological and political education workers at higher institutes must yet extensively study and apply the rich knowledge of many fields in order to arm themselves, and this is a prerequisite for scientifically carrying out ideological and political work. In conducting a class in scientific ideological and political work, the foundation is Marxist dialectical and historical materialism, as well as psychology, education, logic, aesthetics, etc. This scientific knowledge has revealed the inherent laws of people's thought, psychology, actions, etc. We must grasp and utilize this knowledge, thoroughly investigate and study the current situation among college students, seek the laws of their ideological production, development and change, and following these laws, purposely teach, guide and help the students to establish correct world-views and revolutionary outlooks on life. This is the basic objective of ideological education. Moreover, we should yet see that young students have an intense craving for knowledge and wide interests. On the foundation of systematically carrying out education in Marxist theory, ideological and political work must as far as possible use the total essence of the culture created by mankind and the most recent achievements of modern science to arm them, and in the midst of the process of increasing their knowledge, to enable them to raise their ideological consciousness. The reason why the report by Comrade Li Yanjie /2621 3601 2638/ touched people's hearts and was called a report to "enlighten the spirits of youth", is because he is very knowledgeable, interesting and direct. But interest and directness are inseparable from knowledge, and in the final analysis are questions of knowledge. Thus it is necessary for all comrades who aspire to train a generation of new socialist people and to scientifically carry out ideological and political work in higher institutes to work hard, study energetically, and to familiarize themselves with knowledge related to all fields including politics, economics, science, technology, history, geography, literature and art, music, physical culture, aesthetics, and photography, so as to utilize all kinds of methods and ideological exchange between young students. It is very hard to imagine a person who is ignorant and ill-informed, has shallow knowledge, and stares tongue-tied when faced with questions from students with wide interests, who could gain the respect of the students. And it's even harder to imagine him scientifically carrying out ideological and political work.

Third, it is necessary to stress training the students' cognitive ability, and to oppose only paying attention to conduct management methods which is a breach in scientifically carrying out ideological and political work at higher institutes. In his speech, "On the Problem of Ideological and Political Work", Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out that, "The most basic goals of

ideological and political work are using the revolutionary ideology and spirit, which is also using communist ideology and the basic theory of Marxism to teach the cadres, the masses, the whole working class and even the entire people; arousing and raising the people's revolutionary consciousness, and through repeated practice, increasing the people's understanding and their ability to transform the objective world." Comrade Hu Yaobang has also said, "Raising the ability to understand the objective world includes the ability to observe, to analyze and to differentiate. This naturally is not easy." Current ideological and political work in some higher institutes only stresses conduct management for the students, there is little transgression, and they either become accustomed to being forced to submit to reprimands or are satisfied with the status quo; but attention is not paid to training the student's ability to think, analyze or understand, and they even become accustomed to taking stopgap measures and are not good at taking radical ones. This is one reason why the effectiveness of ideological and political education is not evident. These simplified working methods are a great obstacle to scientifically carrying out ideological and political education. For example, young students often lack the ability to distinguish erroneous ideological trends, and they easily suffer from the corrosive influence of capitalist ideology and remnants of feudalism ideology; and we have some comrades who, as soon as a problem arises, are satisfied to only boldly take charge and manage it with "forbidden" and "prohibited" and so on, but are unwilling to carry out genuine investigation and analysis and to thoroughly state clear reasons; problems of the students' ideological understanding are not truly solved, strong anticorrosive and erosion-resistant lines of defense are not formed ideologically, nor of course is the effectiveness of this kind of ideological and political work ideal.

Of course this indeed does not deny the necessity for strict school management, but says that there is only strength when conduct management and raising cognitive ability are combined; yet comparing the two, the latter is more important. Since a certain period, conduct management was spread as propaganda, and in fact this was a kind of management study which reflected capitalist production relations. We can transform and utilize certain of its aspects in management work at higher institutes. But to regard it as the theoretical basis for ideological and political work, is unfavorable in carrying out ideological and political work at higher institutes more scientifically.

12267

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PARTY AND STATE

SEPARATION OF PARTY, GOVERNMENT WORK ADVOCATED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Ding Junsheng [0002 0193 3932], Ma Zhongwen [7456 1813 2429], Ma Yonghe [7456 3057 0735]: "The Lingzhang County Committee Concentrates its Energy to Undertake Party Building"]

[Text] The Lingzhang County party committee and County government have conscientiously instituted a division of labor between party and government. The county committee has concentrated its energies on party affairs and on major operations and has strengthened party building.

After the meeting of the Lingzhang County People's Congress in 1980, the party and government formally split the work between them, and the government moved out of the county committee's compound, but the problem of the county committee's monopolizing everything still existed in serious form. It monopolized the holding of meetings and the undertaking of work. Matters assigned to the government were pushed towards the county committee, and the secretary was expected to take the lead in everything. This situation not only affected the development of government activism, but also lowered the county government's work efficiency and weakened party work, causing the county party committee to be constantly entangled in administrative affairs. In August of 1982, the county committee clarified regulations: As much as possible the overlap of party and government duties was to be reduced, and, apart from one deputy secretary's serving as county government head, the party committee's five secretaries and deputy secretaries were not to be involved in government tasks. With regard to leadership of economic work, the party committee was to focus only on relevant strategy, policies, programs, and plans, and on major construction projects; for all work within the purview of government authority, it was to keep its hands off and let the government do it. The county party committee was to give positive support to, and vigorously try to help, the government with problems which were difficult to solve, but it was absolutely not to take over or act as a substitute.

Within 4 short months after the division of activities between the party and government, the party committee of this county concentrated its energies on several major items. One was the serious effort to study, propagate, and

implement the 12th Party Congress documents. A second was the vigorous approach to improving party discipline and work style. For example, the county party committee had in the past issued decisions several times to resolve the problem of the cadres' exceeding their authority in having private houses built, but because the leadership did not focus their efforts on this, each time it was a matter of "great thunder but little rain" and the effort was abandoned half-finished. After the 12th Party Congress, the county party committee concentrated its strength and time and, within only a couple of weeks, solved this thorny question rather well. In other areas, such as the use of public funds for holding parties and sending gifts and the attempts to establish relationships with someone by going through the back door, the improper work style among party members and cadres showed marked improvement. A third area was the direct participation in production teams by 10 standing committee members of the county party committee. On the one hand, they gave attention to solving problems of ideological understanding on the part of cadres and the masses, and, on the other hand, they gave heed to helping the production teams in the county that are responsible for a task until its completion to grow from 55.8 percent to 90.5 percent. Moreover, they helped a number of the brigades to establish service companies and service stations for farm machinery, farm electricity, and science and technology. A fourth area was the setting up and consolidation of a political and ideological work system for the party. Throughout the entire county there was also established the system of "party members relating to households," a strengthening of the system of "three meetings, one instruction class", and a overhauling and beefing up of workers, youth, women, and military organizations. An initial selection of 80 young and middle-aged cadres was made, along with preparations to send them to leadership bodies at various levels.

6722

CSO: 4005/626

PARTY AND STATE

QIANG XIAOCHU ON FOSTERING COMMUNIST OUTLOOK

SK270706 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 26 Mar 83

[Text] In a report delivered at the provincial party congress, Comrade Qiang Xiaochu pointed out: It is necessary to deeply understand and truly implement the theoretical viewpoints and principle of action defined at the 12th National Party Congress and proceed from the province's actual situation to organically integrate the building of the material and spiritual civilizations. In addition, efforts must be made to develop socialist democracy and intensify the building of the legal system. To this end, he set forth three demands:

Strengthen communist ideological education and do a good job in ideological construction. We must persist in conducting education on communist ideals so as to enable the broad masses of party members and the people to firmly foster lofty communist ideals, a communist world outlook and outlook on life, and to consciously resist the corrosive ideological influence of the exploiting class. In the coming 5 years, it is necessary to conduct thorough education on the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought and to carry out various activities to publicize communist ideals and labor attitudes and the advanced deeds of models such as Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu. Furthermore, we must get a good grasp on education on party policies, and unify the fostering of communist ideas with the implementation of the present party policies so as to enable party members to understand the purpose of implementing these policies is aimed at guiding our undertakings toward the long-range communist objective and, by no means, aimed at directing the people's attention to considering everything in terms of money or indulging in seeking material enjoyment. In addition, we must grasp well education on communist ethics and on socialist discipline.

Actively develop scientific, educational and cultural undertakings and attend to cultural construction. Modernizing science and technology is the key to the four modernizations, and education is the foundation and one of the strategic emphases for national economic development. Leadership at all levels must attach the attention of it. In education, we must attend to reform so as to enable education to gear itself to economic and social development. In higher education, we must readjust the proportion of courses and establish vocational studies so as to meet the needs of our province's economic and social development. We must walk on two legs, run various kinds of schools and foster all kinds of talented persons at every level. It is necessary to strengthen scientific research work and intensify elementary studies in the course of stressing research in applied science and exploitation work. While developing

the natural sciences, we must also pay attention to developing the social sciences. All cultural undertakings--including culture and arts, movies, press and publications, radio and television, public health and physical culture and sports undertakings--are encountering a new situation of reform. Resolute efforts must also be made to attend to family planning and to improve the quality of the population. One child for one couple and late marriages and late births are encouraged so that all births will occur and children will be raised in a healthy manner.

Develop socialist democracy and intensify the enforcement of the legal system. We must rely on socialist democracy and the socialist legal system to safeguard and support the building of the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. We must strengthen the people's congress system and hold the people's congresses at all levels at regular intervals across the province in line with relevant stipulations of the constitution and the law. The work of the CPPCC committees at all levels must be strengthened and their role must be brought into full play. We must endlessly consolidate and develop the broad patriotic united front, and mobilize all positive factors to promote the cause of socialist construction. We must resolutely implement the party's policies on nationalities, on regional national autonomy and on the establishment of national townships; seek every way to conduct various forms of educational activities on socialist democracy and the legal system among workers, peasants, cadres, youths and juveniles; attend to social order; and see to it that there should be laws which are seriously followed and enforced and that all law breakers are strictly dealt with. We must resolutely deal blows to serious criminal activities in the economic, political and cultural spheres, those criminal elements who create false cases against others and disrupt the stable and united situation and those who engage in malpractices and profiteering. We must safeguard the sanctity of state law, maintain good social order and achieve a fundamental turn for the better in our provinces social order.

CS0: 4005/675

PARTY AND STATE

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MORALITY, LEGAL SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jan 83 p 4

/Article by Lin Shaozhang /2651 7300 4545/ in "Studying the New Constitution":
"On Morality and the Legal System"/

/Text/ During the current comprehensive studying, publicizing, and guaranteeing the implementation of the new constitution, further clarification of the relationship between morality and the legal system, between communist morality and the socialist legal system, has especially important significance in establishing the people's concept of communist morality, in developing their legal consciousness, and in guaranteeing the implementation of the constitution.

Morality determines whether the people's norms of conduct are good or evil, beautiful or ugly, just or unjust, and honorable or shameful. It is a kind of social ideology, a part of the superstructure. Morality is of a class character, different classes have different moral concepts and standards, and proletarian communist morality is mankind's greatest and noblest morality. For this kind of morality isn't founded on protecting the interests of the individual and of the minority of exploiters, but on protecting the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of working people, and on the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific communism. This is to say that the standards of communist morality are based on the interests of the proletariat and of the broad masses of people, and whatever is in accord with their interests is beautiful, good, just, honorable, noble, and honest; whatever is not is ugly, evil, base, shameful, vulgar and false. Communist morality requires that the people must take deep love for their country, diligence in their studies, deep love for labor, respect for law, finding pleasure in helping others, concern for the collective, paying attention to hygiene, modesty and honesty, arduous struggle, and bravely facing the enemy, as standards for their own conduct in social activity. The nucleus of communist morality is collectivism. It trains the people to devote themselves wholeheartedly to the collective, to be concerned with collective communist ideological values, and to become idealistic, moral, civilized, and law abiding, honored workers. Thus we must establish new habits of communist morality, and make our own contributions toward the realization of the great strategic goals of the new age.

The so-called socialist legal system is based on the will of the proletariat and of the broad masses of people, is approved by the legal system established

by our own state power, in accord with the need to develop the socialist economy, and depends on public order established by this kind of legal system. To put it briefly, "Having dependable laws, we must depend on them, strictly enforce them, and investigate illegality." Having dependable laws is the most important task established by the legal system, and the necessity to strictly enforce them and to investigate illegality are basic guarantees of the legal system. The socialist legal system is a powerful tool in the construction of socialist modernization. Thus, publicizing the legal system among the broad masses of people and using the law to educate them enables them to conscientiously observe the constitution and the laws, is a major task established by the legal system, and is also the major substance established by the social spirit and culture.

The differences between communist morality and the socialist legal system are that: (1) Communist morality depends on the strength of public opinion and on the strength of the people's faith, customs, traditions and education to support it, and conduct in violation of communist morality depends on criticism and education to conscientiously correct it. The socialist legal system is backed up by the state, depends on the coercive strength of the state to be carried out and respected, conduct in violation of the socialist legal system must depend on law to investigate legal responsibility, violations of the criminal law require investigation of criminal responsibility, and serious situations should be punished by law. This is the authority and sanctity of the law. (2) There are also great differences between communist morality and the revised scope of the socialist legal system; to judge between right and wrong in social activity a large number of people depend on standards of communist morality, and its demands are higher and broader than the socialist legal system. And the socialist legal system will only adopt legal measures and regulations when the people's conduct seriously endangers the legitimate rights and interests of society, the collective and the individual citizen.

Communist morality and the socialist legal system are basically identical, and their relationship is very close. First, they are major component parts of the socialist superstructure, are reflections of the will of the proletariat and of the broad masses of the people, represent the interests of the vast majority of the people, and serve the general goals of strengthening the socialist system and socialist modernization. Second, judged by the interdependence of morality and the legal system, whatever is required by the socialist legal system is also inevitably advocated by communist morality. Whatever is prohibited by the socialist legal system is also condemned by communist morality, and conduct which violates the socialist legal system is also conduct which destroys communist morality. Article 53 of the Constitution stipulates that, "Citizens of the PRC must abide by the constitution and the laws, guard state secrets, cherish public property, and observe labor discipline, public order, and social morality." It further stipulates that when exercising their civil liberties, citizens must not infringe upon the interests of the state, the society or the collective, or upon the legal freedoms and rights of other citizens. These provisions of the constitution are also requirements of communist morality. To observe communist morality, it is necessary to first observe the socialist legal system. People who frequently violate communist morality, don't listen to advice, refuse to mend

their ways despite repeated admonition, and continue down this path, are travelling an illegal and criminal road. Analyzing the criminal situation in the current society, of all kinds of cases of violation, criminal offenses constitute the majority; those that have developed from egoism and degeneracy into criminality constitute the majority. This is also to say that through violating communist morality and taking the criminal road, those who are finally punished according to law constitute the majority. Third, communist morality and the socialist legal system are mutually complementary and affect each other, and speaking of the relationship between morality and the legal system, morality is the foundation of the legal system, and the legal system is the development and improvement of morality; laws require the support of moral public opinion, and morality requires the backing of laws. Many contradictions and disputes existing among the people in socialist society require that we use many different sorts of methods to solve them, and require the combination of education in the legal system and in morality to raise the people's communist consciousness, to create a good social atmosphere, to safeguard the normal order in society, production and work, and to promote the construction of socialist modernization.

The relationship between morality and the legal system indicates that to support social morality and to conscientiously observe the constitution are the duties of every citizen, and are also basic requirements of community morality. The democratic rights bestowed on the citizens by the constitution can only be guaranteed, contradictions and disputes among the people can only be properly solved, and the social atmosphere and public order can only improve when everyone studies, understands, and abides by the law, handles affairs strictly according to law, and conscientiously guards the sanctity of the constitution and the law. Thus, "It is necessary to repeatedly carry out legal system publicity and education among all the people", and "It is especially necessary to educate and supervise the masses of Party members to take the lead in observing the constitution and the laws". Through education in general ideals, morality, culture, discipline and the legal system, and through formulating and carrying out all kinds of rules and pacts among the masses in the different urban and rural spheres, the state strengthens the building of the socialist spiritual civilization. Having controlled the state power of 1 billion people under the leadership of the Party, provided everyone observes the constitution, guards the sanctity of the law, establishes communist morality, improves their legal concepts, and dares to struggle with conduct in violation of or destructive to the constitution, the implementation of the new constitution can definitely be guaranteed. The new constitution will also definitely be able to have a great effect in promoting the victorious development of the cause of our country's socialist modernization.

12267

CSO: 4005/467

PARTY AND STATE

ESTABLISHING ONESELF AS AUTHORITY FIRST DISCOURAGED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 12 Nov 82 p 4

/Article by Wang Changgen /3076 7022 2704/: "Do Not Put Establishing Oneself as an Authority First"/

/Text/ There are some young people intent on developing their talents who in the end hope to establish themselves as authorities in the future. Such an aspiration is certainly worthy of encouragement. However, it is my belief that establishing oneself as an authority is the result of a resolution to develop one's talents and that it is not the sole mark of developing one's talents.

What is developing one's talents? There is an old specialist who has said it well: Everyone who has become an expert in his work through study and practice of his work, everyone who has summarized systematic experiences of work in the course of abundant practice so that the results of his study surpass a definite level and everyone who has made definite contributions to society in this work and labor can be considered to have developed his talents. In our nation, there are very many types of revolutionary work so that one can develop one's talents no matter what occupation one engages in. There are different levels of human talent and the term "specialist" has a broad meaning. Scientists, writers and artists are all "specialists." Outstanding teachers, top-flight business managers, model nurses, people skilled in farming and those with a knack for making innovations are also "specialists." The famous people who make great contributions to the agriculture and industry of the nation and to national defense are "specialists." Those true workers who remain obscure all of their lives and who make achievements on various fronts are, similarly, "specialists." Therefore, I want to say a few words to some of those young friends who are intent on developing their talents to ask them not to put establishing themselves as authorities first and to tell them that the important thing is to find the key to opening the treasure house of knowledge and technology by studying the experiences of famous people who developed their talents and to master skills for serving the people as quickly as possible in order to make greater contributions to the four modernizations. If one indulges all one's days in seeking to "establish oneself as an authority," then one cannot deal correctly with the contradiction between individual aspirations and the demands of the revolution and will look down on ordinary but important posts. In this way, "one sets one's mind on growing flowers but

flowers do not come" and even "developing one's talents" is not possible. How can one talk about "becoming an authority?"

For a young person to think about establishing himself as an authority is a good thing. A large number of experts is urgently needed by our nation in order to build the four modernizations. The number of experts that we have at present is not too many, but rather, too few. The problem is that our being intent on developing our talents and wanting to establish ourselves as authorities are both desirable. The starting point for both must be the same. In both cases, we must have an ideology of service to the people and a spirit of devoting ourselves to the four modernizations. There are some people who seek to establish themselves as authorities who confuse being an "expert" with "fame and wealth." Thus, once they have made achievements and make a name for themselves, they become complacent and forget themselves; or, if they do not achieve their objectives, become pessimistic and discouraged and don't know which way to turn. Such a person cannot in the end become the both red and expert person of talent that the state requires.

10019

CSO: 4005/492

PARTY AND STATE

SHANXI IMPLEMENTS SYSTEM OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY

Changzi County

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Feb 83 p 1

[Article by correspondents Chen Shunzeng [7115 7311 1073] and Ge Fuguang [5514 1318 0342]: "Floating Wages, Earnest Work"]:

[Text] Starting at the end of 1980, Changzi County in Shanxi Province established the system of personal responsibility for cadres in every county organization. It implemented floating wages and handled rather well the relationship among responsibility, authority, and benefit. It stimulated the activism of personnel in the organizations, resulting in the emergence of a new situation in their work.

Their primary approach was: Party affairs offices, administrative organs, and other offices and units with no concrete economic targets, such as the Organization, Personnel, Propaganda, United Front, Culture and Education, and Health Departments, were to employ an inspection and evaluation system uniting responsibility and the recording of workpoints. The content of this was the three stipulations, four evaluations, and one comparison and evaluation. They stipulated the personnel, the time periods, and the duties; they evaluated work attendance, accomplishments, discipline, and attitude; a comparison and assessment were made and awards given. According to the four evaluations, four categories of circumstances were divided up, and awards and penalties given according to them. The source of the monetary awards was a two to five percent deduction from everyone's set wages. With regard to the administration cadres in the Economic Committee and in the Industrial, Commercial, Grain, Trade and Finance and other departments, the approach was to make awards and penalties linked to economic targets and quotas. For the most part, they "took a percentage deduction from floating wages added to profits" as the monetary awards. The amount withheld from floating wages was five percent of everyone's wages. The percent deducted from profits was 10 percent of the overall wages withheld from the profits of an enterprise. With regard to the technical cadres in the administrative organs of the Agricultural Bureau, the Livestock Bureau, the Water Conservation Bureau, and others, they adopted the contract system of responsibility in technology, linking technology to production and efficiency to wages.

In establishing the system of personal responsibility and setting up a floating wage, five major changes occurred in the work of the organizations: The first was the strengthening of the sense of work responsibility. "In establishing the system of responsibility, everyone has work;" "with the floating wage linked to this sense, work of every sort was done conscientiously." The second was increase in work productivity. Everyone takes care of his area, everyone handles his responsibilities, and everyone does his utmost. "The things which one should do are not pushed off onto others; things which should be done today are not delayed until tomorrow." The third was an improvement in the work style of the organizations. The number of persons who took the initiative to ask to go to work in places where conditions were difficult increased. They went out into the communes and brigades to give guidance in studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress. They did effective ideological, political, and educational work in the countryside, serving as a great impetus for work in the entire county. The fourth was the tightening of organizational discipline. According to statistics, of the 1,290 cadres in the county, 1,255 actually turned out for work, which was a rate of 95 percent and an increase of 4.5 percent over the previous year. The fifth was the improvement in the style of study. There was no need for a call of encouragement because the study of politics, business, and cultural and scientific knowledge has become common practice.

Weifang Municipality

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Feb 83 p 1

[Article: "Weifang Municipality Implements System of Personal Responsibility For the Leadership"]

[Text] According to a report in the DAZHONG RIBAO: After Weifang Municipality Shandong Province put into practice the system of personal responsibility for leadership cadres and organs, the dispute over trifles among cadres was reduced and work efficiency raised.

Last year in May the municipal party committee and municipal government drew up the system of personal responsibility for leadership cadres and leadership organs. The system of personal responsibility is divided into the eight sections of general principles, struggle objectives, quota responsibility, shortcuts to increased production and increased harvests, foundation work, division of duties, implementation measures, and inspection and acceptance, which comprise of 30 articles in all. The system clarified regulations for every aspect of work in the city. For all the departments, party committees, offices, bureaus, and so forth, which have thoroughly met the targets specifically assigned to them, the municipal party committee and municipal government have circulated notices of commendation. For workers who have made outstanding accomplishments, awards were given. The system has served as the substance for the examination and selection of cadres. For those organizations which were not able to meet the targets specifically assigned to them, depending on different circumstances, responsible persons from units concerned would check on different things in a certain area.

Three good points that resulted from the implementation of the system of personal responsibility are:

The first was the reduction in the disputes over trifles among the units and an increase in office efficiency. If, for example, materials were needed for repair of the Fangzi Wine Factory, reports in the past would have had to be submitted to five bureaus and committees, taking at least 20 days. Now after a report is made to the Economic Committee, a joint investigation is done by the committee and concerned units, and in less than three days the matter is settled.

The second was the stimulation of the enthusiasm of the workers. After a integrated investigation was undertaken of the main principles by the Standing Committee, whoever was personally assigned the work was given authority and responsibility.

The third was that top leadership had the time and energy to go into the basic-level work places to do research and investigation. Last year, the amount of time which the municipal party committee secretary spent on going into the basic levels for research and investigation was up by one-third over previous years.

6722

CSO: 4005/626

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS URGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 14 Dec 82 p 1

[Article: "Closely Combine Study of the New State Constitution, the Report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan, and the Party Constitution"]

[Text] On 10 December, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee issued a notification with regard to becoming more deeply involved in study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress.

The notification pointed out that for more than 2 months the vast majority of organizations in the municipality have placed strong emphasis on leadership in the study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress and have achieved marked results. However, study carried out by various units on various fronts has been uneven, and judging from the problems of ideology and understanding revealed by the study, continued arduous study is necessary in order to understand the spirit of the documents and raise consciousness. Because there have been many study materials recently, the originally stipulated period for study of the 12th Party Congress documents must be extended through the first 10 days of next February.

The circular demanded that proper study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress be closely combined with the study of such documents as the State Constitution passed by the Fifth Session of the Fifth National Peoples' Congress, Comrade Peng Zhen's report of the proposals for revision of the State Constitution, and Comrade Zhao Ziyang's report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The documents of the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC are all based upon the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and study of these documents will enable one to better understand and implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. The new State Constitution is the overall charter for governing the nation in this new historical period and is the basic law of the state. It is necessary to organize the masses, to extensively study the State Constitution and in particular educate and supervise the broad masses of party members to take the lead in complying with the State Constitution.

The circular pointed out that while studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress, the party members of the entire municipality must at the same time study the new Party Constitution and leading cadres must take the lead in this study. Theoretical classes for party members and cadres conducted by party schools and party organizations at various levels must also organize study of

the new Party Constitution. Already concluded theoretical classes which have not organized study of the Party Constitution must make up this class at a suitable time. By studying the new Party Constitution we can universally raise the consciousness of communist ideology of party members and party cadres, use the Party Constitution to make strict demands upon ourselves and undertake criticism and self-criticism in order to strive for qualified party members and qualified cadres so as to make ideological preparation for party rectification to be started in the second half of next year. In study, we must distinguish between different objects and put forth appropriate demands. We must make greater study demands upon the cadres at the County CYL level and above so as to strive to deepen understanding of the documents of the 12th Party Congress from the theoretical point of view.

The circular pointed out that as study is continued a deeper understanding of the spirit of the documents should be achieved and conscientious efforts should be made to combine ideology with practice so as to resolve all kinds of ideological problems. Cadres must be brought to intensively read the documents so as to get a grasp on key issues and conduct topical discussions. The leadership of party organizations at various levels must by recalling the process of bringing order out of chaos since the Third Plenum, examine one's own understanding of the line, principles, and policies adopted by the Central, observe in what areas one's implementation is good and in what areas it is weak and the reason for it, conscientiously sum up lessons from, experiences, truly unify thinking with the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, and maintain political unity with the Party Central.

Finally, the circular demanded that leadership in study be strengthened and that we must not grasp something only to immediately relax our grip. Leading cadres must take the lead in studying well so as to act as models, do the work a level at a time by first effectively carrying out study by leadership cadres at various levels, effectively organize and lead party members, cadres, and the masses in study, and do a good job in publicizing the word among the masses. We must conscientiously conduct investigations and summarize and exchange experiences to promote the prolonged, thorough development of study.

7136

USC: 4005/49

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION FOR SHANGHAI PARTY MEMBERS STEPPED UP

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 24 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Party Members to Be Educated on Three Fronts"]

[Text] In a party cadre conference which concluded yesterday, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee made arrangements to implement the spirit of the All-China Conference on Education of Party Members and the All-China Conference on Ideological and Political Work in Rural Areas. The Municipal Party Committee decided that from now through the middle of next year party organizations at various levels must make the new Party Constitution their primary theme in educating party members in Marxism-Leninism and in the basic theories of Mao Zedong Thought, in educating them in communism and the party's line, principles and policies, and in educating them in basic knowledge about the party and the standards which apply to communist party members. This must be done in order to make ideological preparations for the party rectification which is to be conducted next winter, and in order to effect new advances in educational, ideological, political, and party building work during the new year and to create a new appearance.

Shanghai Municipal Party Committee leading Comrades Chen Guodong [7115 0948 276], Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 240], Zhong Min [6945 3046], Xia Zhengnong [1115 1767 659], Yang Shifa [2799 1102 312], Chen Jinhua [1115 6930 5478], and more than 1,000 party secretaries of communes and responsible persons of various departments, party committees and offices and from various prefectures, counties, bureaus, university party committees, party organizations and propaganda departments attended the conference.

The conference was held from 15-23 December for a total of 9 days, was chaired by Comrade Zhong Min. The Deputy Director of the Municipal Party Committee Propaganda Department, Chen Qiwu [1115 0366 0663], the Deputy Director of the Municipal Party Committee Organization Department, Gao Yang [559 2254], and the Secretary of the Municipal Party Committee Propaganda Department, Li Xueguang [2621 1331 1639], individually passed on to the conference the spirit of the All-China Conference on Education of Party Members and the All-China Conference on Ideological and Political Work in Rural Areas. After enthusiastic discussion, the comrades in attendance felt that this calling of special conferences by the Central and the Municipal Party Committee to discuss the strengthening of the education of party members and the strengthening of ideological and political work in rural areas was the first

of its kind since the founding of the nation and that they were very happy about it. The last session of the conference was chaired by Comrade Chen Guodong, and Comrade Hu Lijiao made a summary report.

Hu Lijiao said that this year the entire party had done a lot of very effective work and that the entire political and economic situation was somewhat better than what had been anticipated. The strategic goals and measures determined by the 12th Party Congress had already entered the hearts of the people; the achievements of the Fifth Session of the Fifth National Peoples' Congress would stimulate even further the political fervor of the people of Shanghai; the leadership experience and ideological level of leading cadres at all levels and of the broad masses of cadres have been raised anew. All of these put together will be the source of our ability to achieve new progress in our material and political and ideological bases in 1983, and the source of the party's strength in winning new victories. The year 1982 is about to pass and we hope that the near year will bring about new advances. Each front, each organization, each cadre, and each party member must achieve new accomplishments, make new contributions, so as to add new color to our great work.

The conference noted that after the 12th Party Congress the Party Central had speedily convened a Conference on Education of Party Members and a Conference on Ideological and Political Work in Rural Areas, and will convene a Conference on Ideological and Political Work among Employees, and Conferences on ideological and political work on other fronts, and in addition will launch party rectification next winter. From this it can be seen that the Party Central has placed great importance in strengthening ideological and political work, in educating party members, and in party building in order to realize the the correct path laid down by the 12th Party Congress and in order to create a new situation for socialistic modernization. The conference resolutely supported the whole series of important measures adopted by the Party Central for the strengthening of the party's work, and demanded that these be thoroughly implemented by party organizations at various levels in the municipality. This is an important step in guaranteeing the realization of the great task of the 12th Party Congress.

The conference discussed the significance of strengthening the education of party members from five points of view: (1) Our party is in the position of a governing party and therefore needs to strengthen the education of party members, (2) in order to do a better job of bringing order out of chaos, we need to strengthen the education of party members, (3) in order to completely create a new situation for socialistic modernization, we need to strengthen the education of party members, (4) in order to strengthen the building of socialist civilization and socialist democracy, we need to strengthen the education of party members, (5) in order to make ideological preparation for the party rectification work of next winter so as to realize a fundamental change in the better in party attitudes, we need to strengthen the education of party members. The conference pointed out that the question of whether the great task laid down by the 12th Party Congress would be completed or not will be decided in the end by whether we are able to take itself as the main contradiction in the new situation and to take it as the main contradiction in the new situation.

modernization. The significance of strengthening the education of party members lies in this.

The conference also made a correct analysis of the situation of the Shanghai rank and file Party members, stating that the mainstream of the Shanghai rank and file Party members are good and have fighting strength. Comrades who entered the party during the "Great Cultural Revolution" were limited by historical conditions at that time and understand little of the basic theory, knowledge, and good traditions of the party, but after education this situation could be changed. Most of them are good or comparatively good, but some comrades have committed errors of one kind or another. After the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially after the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee, some of them went through an education process but with different degrees of progress. Those comrades who have committed errors, including those comrades who have committed serious errors must unambiguously be assisted with education and made to feel the warmth of the party organization. If they will only reform then there will be no need to discriminate against them.

However, we should also note that Shanghai was the place where the "gang of four" rose to power and during the 10 years of turmoil, it suffered serious internal injuries. The influence of "left" poison was deep and cannot be ignored. There are also some party members who have differing degrees of tendencies towards bourgeois freedom; in some party members communist ideals have weakened and they talk of material benefits and money and exhibit individualist ideology; some party members are satisfied with the status quo, they have become conservative and lack a spirit of positive advance; some party members lack party concepts, lack the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, and have lax discipline; and there is a very small number of party members who break the law and are corrupt even to the point of committing crimes. For these reasons, although we need to see that in the main the Shanghai rank and file Party members are good. We must also see that the three "insufficiencies" and three "impurities" exist as well. We must use the strengthening of education of party members to move forward to party rectification and with this solve the problem of the three "impurities" of ideology, work style, and organization, and the problem of the three "insufficiencies" of implementing the party's ideological line, political line, and organizational line, in order to raise the ideological and political quality of the broad masses of party members and cadres. This will cause the party work style to take a big turn for the better and will assist the mood of our whole society in taking a turn for the better.

The conference noted that the present on-going education of party members must be based primarily on the new Party Constitution, that all party members, cadres at all levels, and especially leading cadres must make themselves into models and must use the Party Constitution as a mirror, conscientiously analyzing their reflection, and looking to see in which aspects they have achieved or basically achieved a likeness and in which aspects there is still some way to go. They should manifest the Yanan spirit of rectification and conscientiously undertake comradely criticism or self-criticism.

The conference work arrangements for the implementation of the spirit of the two Central Conferences and the spirit of this Municipal Party Committee Conference. It emphasized that party organizations at all levels must strengthen their leadership of ideological and political work and the work of education of party members, extricate themselves from everyday administrative chores, overcome the 'party does not govern the party' situation, release more hands and use even more time to manage the party well and teach party members well. The rank and file in charge of teaching the party members of the municipality must be reorganized, improved, and strengthened.

7136

CSO: 4005/456

PARTY AND STATE

SPECIALIZATION OF PARTY, GOVERNMENT CADRES STRESSED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN (SEMIMONTHLY TALKS) in Chinese No 1, 10 Jan 83 pp 14-16

/Article by Zhong Zuxuan /6988 4809 1357/: "Broaden the Path for Specialization of Party and Government Cadres"/

/Text/ Party and government cadres have a very important mission in realizing the party's general task in the new period, particularly in building socialist spiritual civilization. Rapid enhancement of the political and professional quality of party and government cadres and making them revolutionized, knowledgeable and specialized is an urgent task in the present training of cadres. To fulfill this task, one measure adopted by the Organization and Propaganda Departments of the party Central Committee is to entrust the Beijing municipal self-study examination commission for higher education to conduct open-book examinations on basic subjects in higher education for party and government cadres from 1983.

The news of open-book examinations for party and government cadres on basic subjects has caused strong repercussions and has been warmly received by numerous party and government organs and the broad masses of cadres throughout the country. In a matter of several days the office of the Beijing municipal self-study examination commission for higher education received a large number of letters and telegrams from 28 provinces other than Xizang and Taiwan, which praised this measure for being the "most realistic and concrete step to train party and government cadres to be revolutionized, knowledgeable and specialized" and "we all support this decision." The cultural palace for laboring people in Beijing Municipality operates supplementary classes for party and government cadres preparing for the examination and had planned to enroll 350 people, but the enrollment was filled on the morning of the 1st day. Many cadres braved severely cold weather at 4 or 5 to line up for enrollment and they refused to leave even when the enrollment was filled. After repeated requests the cultural palace expanded enrollment by 1,000. According to the cadre who runs the school for the cultural palace, such spectacular enrollment is unprecedented.

Why would the open-book examination for party and government cadres cause such strong repercussions? The answer is not difficult to find from the large number of letters and telegrams received.

First, the decision on the open-book examinations for party and government cadres on basic subjects, specifying 12 basic compulsory courses on theory for cadres who prepare to complete college education, and issuing college diplomas to those who qualify through a centralized examination after completing this program, enabling the state to recognize their academic records, is in accord with the demands of the broad masses of party and government cadres and reflects their urgent demand to realize their desire to become revolutionized, knowledgeable and specialized. Currently there are 400,000 party and government cadres throughout the country, the educational level of 60 percent of these cadres is junior middle school or lower, which is far below the national average among cadres. Therefore, it is all the more urgent for party and government cadres to become revolutionized, knowledgeable and specialized. This is entirely understandable.

Moreover, in training cadres on a large scale there generally exist the problems of material conditions such as shortages in training facilities, teachers and funds for cadre training. The open-book examinations for party and government cadres on basic subjects and the operation of schools by various organs in a dispersed manner, require the operation of less cadre schools. The quality of learning is safeguarded as educational departments centrally raise the results in learning. Separating the schools and examinations and yet coordinating between them can solve the problem of teacher shortage. This is a good idea that achieves three goals with one move and we should not be against it.

Furthermore, properly resolving the contradiction between study and work is a pre-requisite to successfully launching the education of cadres. Particularly with the leading cadres and work cadre, cadres often abandon their study because they cannot properly resolve the contradiction between study and work. Launching self-study examinations on basic subjects, for party and government cadres, with various organs running schools in a dispersed manner, is a method of self-study for a centralized examination with the form and time of study relatively flexible. One can take supplementary courses aided by television, rent videotapes on supplementary study courses from television stations and learn on one's own. Suitability to needs is relatively effective. It suits different demands of all types of organs and cadres in the substance, time and guidance of study. At the same time, one can be released from work at full time for 1 or more seasons to complete the 12 compulsory courses. One can be released at full-time or part-time at will and complete any of the 12 compulsory courses at each season. One can even attend a full-time school or a part-time school. One can take the examinations periodically, or one can take the examination, initially on 1 subject, or all of the 12 subjects, or one can take the method of "putting together" or "putting apart" in making part and government cadres knowledgeable and specialized.

With the implementation of the decision on the education of party and government cadres, the party and government cadres will be able to become revolutionized, knowledgeable and specialized. This is a good idea that achieves three goals with one move and we should not be against it.

and government cadres the Organization and Propaganda Departments of the party Central Committee and the Beijing municipal self-study examination commission for higher education have invited concerned specialists and scholars to inquire into the structure of knowledge among party and government cadres and have initially determined 12 courses as the basic compulsory courses on theory for party and government cadres to attain college academic records. This also provides a basis for specialized education of party and government cadres to move gradually toward standardization.

Although the open-book examination for party and government cadres on basic subjects has been warmly received, it is nevertheless an initial attempt. We have never engaged in it before and we lack experience. We need to give it concern, protection and help so that it will grow sturdy and better serve to make party and government cadres revolutionized, knowledgeable and specialized.

9586

CSO: 4005/479

PARTY AND STATE

PUBLIC OPINION COLUMN ADDRESSES SYSTEM REFORM, URBAN REFORM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Feb 83 p 1

Column: "Public Opinion Excerpts"

Text: I. System Reform Must Be Experimented

The system must be reformed and there must be experimentation in reform.

We must continually practice and sum up our experience in the reform of industry and commerce. This will enable reform to proceed smoother. Comparing slower progress in reform due to experimentation and faster reform without experimentation but with poor results which required starting all over again; gradual reform through experimentation is better.

II. Urban Reform Must be Carried Out Step By Step

Urban reform is more complicated than rural reform. The present ideological preparation of cadres is still inadequate, and at the same time, the industrial, commercial and communications fronts in cities are mutually linked and mainly under the system of ownership by all the people. Reform involves a series of questions on planned system and fiscal revenue. We still do not have the mature experience to resolve correctly various contradictions that appear in reform. Therefore, current urban reform must proceed from reality and must be carried out with leadership, step by step and in a planned way. We should avoid engaging in movements and more so in political ones.

12 Feb 83

PARTY AND STATE

EXTRAVAGANT CEREMONIES CRITICIZED IN CHUANSHA COUNTY

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jan 83 p 1

/Article by Guo Huijun /6753 1920 068/ and Zhang Zhiyuan /1728 1897 6678/:
"At the Beginning of the New Year, Chuansha County Party Committee Launches
Party Workstyle and Party Discipline Inspections; Uses Both Positive and
Negative Examples as Materials; Educates Party Member Cadres To Take Lead in
Changing Prevailing Habits and Customs"/

/Text/ Editor's Note: Around Spring Festival time, it is easy for some of the old customs to rekindle from their dead ashes. It is hoped that all levels of the party organization, rural and urban, will act in accordance with the demands of the "four advocates and four oppositions" (i.e., encourage thrift, oppose extravagant weddings; encourage equality of the sexes and respectful care of the elderly, oppose discrimination towards and abuse of women and the elderly; encourage trust in science, oppose feudal superstitions; and encourage healthy cultural entertainment, oppose gambling) and carry out education through propaganda, and appeal to party members, league members and cadres to take the lead in changing prevailing habits and customs. Through praise and criticism, these should serve to promote a turn for the better in the party workstyle and in the general mood of society.

In the early part of this year, the Chuansha County CPC Committee carried out a party workstyle and party discipline inspection and achieved initial results.

Two days before New Year's Day, the party committees of Gonglu Commune and Liutuan Commune in Chuansha County used the theme of "cooperation" as a pretext to hold a huge banquet, thus spending several thousand yuan from collectively owned funds. This incident attracted the attention of the county CPC committee, which decided to conduct a countywide party workstyle and party discipline inspection. It also drew inferences about other cases from this one instance. Before the Spring Festival, the County CPC committee zeroed in on the problem of party member cadres taking the lead in changing prevailing habits and customs. At approximately the same time, this newspaper

also forwarded to the county CPC committee the criticisms and opinions of the people towards the extravagant funeral held by Chen Tianguo /7111 1131 0948/, mayor of Yangsi Zhen. The Chuansha County CPC Committee immediately sent out comrades of the County Discipline Committee separately to Yangsi Zhen, Gonglu Commune, and other places, to listen to the opinions of the people. After an investigation of the situation, the County CPC Committee decided to use these two examples to educate the cadres and the people.

On 10 January, the Chuansha County CPC Committee called an enlarged meeting of the county CPC committee standing committee which was attended by over 140 important commune, zhen and bureau level leading cadres of the entire county. The county CPC committee praised the direct Hospital, Hou Guang /0186 0342/, and his wife. Hou Guang is an intellectual who has been a party member for many years. When his son was preparing to marry, he could have gone out for ostentation and extravagance, since he did have the economic wherewithall. But the Hou Guang couple suppressed the old ways of thinking and any temptation by the old ideology. They did not hold a banquet or invite guests, but arranged a simple wedding for their son. People praised him as being "just like an old cadre who has been with the party for many years." Subsequently, the county CPC committee also praised those leading cadres of party committees of some communes, zhen and bureaus of Chuansha County for holding simple wedding ceremonies for their sons and daughters. At this county CPC committee standing committee's enlarged meeting, the county CPC committee criticized the mayor of Yangsi Zhen, Chen Tianguo, for his error in arranging an extravagant funeral. The secretaries of the party committees of Conglu Commune and Liutuan Commune also both conducted self-criticism.

As for the mistake of the leading cadres of these three communes and towns in violating party discipline, Party Committee Secretary Xia Derun /1115 1795 3387/ criticized them on behalf of the county party committee since this is a task that should be borne by higher authorities. With the assistance of the county party committee, Comrade Chen Tianguo began to realize his error in arranging the extravagant funeral, and conducted a preliminary self-criticism. Because the people had relatively strong opinions towards his error, the Chuansha County CPC Committee will deal appropriately with him, based on his attitude and acknowledgement.

PARTY AND STATE

SICHUAN CPC DISCIPLINE INSPECTION WORK REPORT

HK220851 Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Feb 83 p 3

[Report: "Sichuan CPC Discipline Inspection Committee's Work Report to the Fourth Provincial CPC Congress"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] In accordance with the stipulations of the party constitution, a report of the current provincial CPC committee discipline inspection committee on its work since its establishment is hereby submitted to the Fourth Provincial CPC Congress for examination.

(1)

The current provincial CPC committee discipline inspection committee was elected by the First Plenary Session of the Third Provincial CPC Committee in January 1979. About the same time, discipline inspection organizations were also set up one after another in various departments and localities. In the past 4 years, we have followed the Central Committee's guideline that the fundamental task of discipline inspection committees is to safeguard the party's rules and regulations and to earnestly improve the party's work style. Under the leadership of the provincial CPC committee and the central discipline inspection commission, we have carried out work in the following aspects, centering round the central task of correcting the party's work style:

/1. Assisting CPC Committee To Supervise and Guarantee the Implementation of the 'Guiding Principles'/'

The "guiding principles for inner-party political life" drawn up by the CPC Central Committee are an important supplement to the party constitution and are rules and regulations which all party members must observe. Since the Central Committee issued the draft "guiding principles" for soliciting opinions, discipline inspection committees at all levels in our province have closely coordinated with propaganda and organizational departments and carried out education on the party's work style and discipline among party members, using the "guiding principles" as important material. Since the "guiding principles" were officially approved and promulgated at the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have given training to party members by steps

and in groups, using the draft revised party constitution and the "guiding principles" as the main contents. CPC committees at and above the county level have also used a period of time for study, during which they checked against these documents, carried out criticism and self-criticism, selectively solved some main problems existing among leading cadres and some CPC committees even consolidated their leading groups. In the spirit of the "guiding principles" and the Central Committee's "several stipulations on treatment for senior cadres in their livelihood," party organizations in many units and localities have also drawn up concrete methods for strengthening and improving party leadership, upholding democratic centralism, perfecting the party's organizational life and guarding against the practice of seeking privileges. These methods have been made known to the masses so they can be carried out under the supervision of the masses. They have also become contents of the organizational life and democratic life of leading groups and are regularly inspected in order to gradually restore normal inner-party political life.

The provincial CPC committee discipline inspection committee and discipline inspection committees at all levels have convened report meetings and forums on studying and implementing the "guiding principles" on many occasions in order to inspect the situation in this respect, sum up and exchange experiences and solve existing problems. They have gone deep into some units and localities to inspect and promote the implementation of the "guiding principles." They have also adopted various forms to strengthen the propaganda and education of the "guiding principles," to commend exemplary deeds and people in implementing the "guiding principles" and to publicize typical cases of violating the "guiding principles," thus promoting the study and implementation of these principles in a deep-going way.

By studying and implementing the "guiding principles," the broad masses of cadres and party members have universally received education on the party's rules and regulations and the party's work style and discipline, heightened their consciousness in implementing the party's line, principles and policies, increased their sense of organization and discipline and restored and carried forward the party's fine traditions and work style.

/2. Safeguarding Political Discipline and Ensuring the Whole Party To Be Politically in Line With the Central Committee/

Because the passive consequences of the decade of internal turmoil have not been completely eliminated, leftist ideas and ideas of ultra-individualism and anarchy are still exerting a grave influence on some party members. Besides, exchanges with foreign countries have increased in the past few years and the party's ideological and political work in this respect has lagged behind. Consequently, the tendency of bourgeois liberalization in negating the four cardinal principles has grown again within the party and in society, as have words and deeds doubting and opposing the line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session, which are also found among a small number of party members and cadres. In view of this situation, the provincial CPC committee discipline inspection committee and discipline inspection committees at all levels have regarded

safeguarding political discipline as their most important task. They have inspected and solved the problem of resisting the implementation of policies for cadres and removed obstacles in redressing unjust, false and wrong cases. They have checked problems of factionalism in some leading groups and together with organizational departments sorted out and replaced people who rose to power through rebellion, who are seriously influenced by factionalism or who participated in beating, smashing and looting. They have also inspected the situation in implementing the Central Committee's policy of making a further economic readjustment and attaining greater political stability and the guidelines of the forum on problems of the ideological front convened by the Central Committee. We have assisted in good time CPC committees to carry out education and make corrections for problems of understanding and to carry out solemn criticism and mete out punishment in problems involving opposition to the party's line, principles and policies and attacks on leading comrades of the Central Committee. This has ensured that the whole party will be politically in line with the Central Committee.

/3. Redressing Unjust, False and Wrong Cases and Implementing Policies for Cadres/

A large number of unjust, false and wrong cases handed down from the "Great Cultural Revolution" and from the past seriously affected the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses and obstructing the consolidation of the political situation of unity and stability. In order to solve this important problem, the provincial CPC committee discipline inspection committee and discipline inspection committees at all levels have seriously implemented the guidelines of putting things to order put forward at the Third Plenary Session. Beginning from 1979, we have made much efforts to recheck and redress unjust, false and wrong cases in the movement against right deviation, in the "four clean-ups" movement [a nationwide movement from 1963-66 to clean up the fields of politics, economy, organization and ideology] and in the past. Together with other departments concerned, we have also rechecked and corrected unjust, false and wrong cases in the anti-rightist movement and in the "Great Cultural Revolution."

In the process of rechecking cases, the provincial CPC committee discipline inspection committee and discipline inspection committees at all levels have held many meetings on special topics, circulated examples of cases redressed and popularized work experiences. All this enhanced the work in redressing unjust, false and wrong cases.

In the past few years, we have rechecked old cases before the "Great Cultural Revolution" that involve some 299,000 people, of whom some 242,000 people had their cases wholly or partially corrected. Among these cases, those of the movement against right deviation involve some 49,000 people, of whom 96 percent have been rehabilitated. (The cases of those who have not been rehabilitated are of another category.) According to the stipulated scope, we have rechecked cases of the "four clean-ups" movement which involve some 73,000 people, of whom 72 percent have had their cases corrected. We have rechecked cases of the anti-rightists movement which involve some 104,000 people, of whom 97 percent have had their cases corrected. We have rechecked old cases in the past that involve

some 72,000 people, of whom 59 percent have had their cases corrected. Through redressing unjust, false and wrong cases, a clear distinction between rights and wrongs in the past has been made, the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses has been aroused, party unity has been strengthened and the practice of daring to uphold truth and seeking truth from facts has been further developed within the party.

/4. Correcting Unhealthy Trends and Solemnly Handling Various Cases of Violating Discipline/

Under the leadership of the provincial CPC committee and CPC committees at all levels, the provincial CPC committee discipline inspection committee and discipline inspection committees at all levels have checked tendentious and prominent problems of the party's work style. In 1980, we concentrated our efforts in inspecting and correcting, throughout the whole province, the problem of violation of policies in turning agricultural population into nonagricultural population and in increasing the number of workers and cadres recruited from rural areas. Most of those who were involved were sorted out, had their residence registration and food registration cancelled and were sent back to the rural areas. In 1981, we concentrated our efforts on inspecting and correcting problems in violating financial and foreign affairs discipline. We cleared up problems of provincial organs indiscriminately providing furniture, some provincial, prefectural and county units selling television sets and radios at low prices within their units and a small number of departments involved in foreign affairs of the province and cities of Chengdu and Chongqing violating foreign affairs discipline. We also participated in a general inspection on financial and economic discipline organized by governments at various levels, cleared out a sum of some 380 million yuan which was handled against financial and economic discipline and recovered funds amounting to some 190 million yuan which should have been delivered to the state. In 1982, we concentrated our efforts on inspecting and correcting the problem of some cadres abusing their power in encroaching upon the interests of the state, the collectives and the masses of people and illegally building houses for themselves. At the same time, we also inspected and corrected the unhealthy trend of seizing excessive residential houses by organs at and above the county level, provincial organs in particular.

In accordance with relevant notices and circulars issued by the Central Committee, the State Council, the provincial CPC committee and the central discipline inspection commission, the provincial CPC committee discipline inspection committee and discipline inspection committees at all levels have also "sounded the alarm," "given preventive injections" and seriously carried out education against other unhealthy trends such as cadres resorting to coercion and commandeering and violating discipline and appropriating state products under the disguise of "trying them out," corruption and favoritism in enrolling college and university students and graduates and assigning jobs to them, bureaucracy, using one's power to seek personal interests and entertaining guests, and giving gifts and making pleasure trips at public expense. We have inspected and handled conspicuous and serious problems in this respect.

In the past few years, we have inspected a total of over 38,400 cases of violations of laws and discipline in the province in which some 20,800 party members who seriously impaired the party's work style and violated the party's discipline were punished according to the party's discipline, thus safeguarding the party's discipline.

/5. Hitting at Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Field/

After the Central Committee issued to the lower levels an emergency circular on hitting at serious criminal activities in the economic field in January 1982, the provincial CPC committee discipline inspection committee and discipline inspection committees at all levels, as working bodies assisting CPC committees in leading this struggle, energetically joined in the struggle, discipline inspection committees and the CPC committee offices for implementing the emergency circular of the Central Committee headed by discipline inspection committees have held many meetings to inspect the situation and exchange views on the struggle, to discuss limits for making final decisions on cases according to policies and to study problems concerning how to develop the struggle. We have also made investigations in various localities, helped clear up doubts and solve difficult problems and promoted the development of the struggle in a deep-going way. The provincial CPC committee discipline inspection committee and discipline inspection committees at all levels have also directly investigated and handled some important major cases which involve party members and leading cadres at or above the county level and after making inspection, have punished, according to party discipline and state laws, criminals in serious cases, such as Zhao Guilian, former deputy director of the Chongqing city foreign affairs office, who accepted bribes in large quantities, taking advantage of handling applications for going to Hong Kong and foreign countries; Wang Gaixiang, deputy director of the import and export office of the provincial light industry bureau, and so on.

Under the effective leadership of CPC committees at various levels and with the close cooperation of political, legal, industrial and commercial departments concerned, we have made outstanding achievements in this struggle. By the end of 1982, the total number of various economic criminal cases filed and inspected in the whole province were over 18,400, among which 691 were major cases involving 120 leading cadres at and above the county level. Some 9,800 of these cases have been cracked recovering stolen and illegally appropriated money amounting to about 27.8 million yuan. This has hit hard at serious criminal activities in the economic field, has given education on the struggle against corrosive influence among the broad masses of party members, cadres and people, has saved some people who have committed mistakes and has been conducive to the correct implementation of the policy of enlivening the domestic economy and opening up to the outside world.

While carrying out the above-mentioned work, the provincial CPC committee discipline inspection committee and discipline inspection committee at all levels have also participated in investigations on people and affairs related to the case of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. We have carefully handled cases in which the offenders should be punished according to party discipline.

We have proceeded from the highest and long-term interests of the party, acted according to the guideline of "stressing leniency and slow moving," repeatedly carried out study and verification of materials and done a good job in ideological education. Besides, we have also handled over 850,000 letters from the masses and interviewed over 330,000 people. In accordance with the party's policies and the principle of cataloguing them according to different levels and departments, we have handled accordingly a large number of appeals and accusations put forward by the masses.

In order to meet the needs of the work, the provincial CPC committee discipline inspection committee and discipline inspection committees at all levels have strengthened ourselves ideologically and organizationally. Discipline inspection committees or preparatory groups have been set up in all county, prefectural, autonomous prefectural and city CPC committees. Discipline inspection committees or groups have also been set up in most party organizations of organs directly under the county, autonomous prefectural, prefectural and provincial CPC committees, enterprises and institutions above the county level and colleges and universities where discipline inspection organs should be set up. A small number of districts and communes also have full-time or part-time discipline inspectors. The total number of discipline inspection cadres throughout the province is over 5,600. Discipline inspection committees at all levels have raised the level of political and ideological consciousness, understanding of policies and professional skills of discipline inspection cadres by sending them to study in party schools and attend short-term training classes and meetings.

On the whole, discipline inspection committees at all levels have done a lot of work in the past 4 years and have played a positive role in promoting the work of bringing order out of chaos, restoring and developing the party's fine traditions and work style, enhancing party building, improving party leadership and ensuring the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. However, there are also some problems. The main ones are: Not enough efforts have been made in some major and important cases; investigations and studies have not been carried out systematically or thoroughly enough; not enough help has been given to the work of discipline inspection committees at various levels and the state of organization of discipline inspection organs at various levels is still far from being appropriate for our tasks. All these problems need serious solving.

(2)

After 4 years' practice, our understanding concerning how to safeguard the party discipline, improve the party's work style, improve and develop discipline inspection work and ensure better implementation of the CPC Central Committee's line, principles and policies are as follows:

/1. Constantly Increasing the Understanding of the Question of the Party's Work Style Is the Premise for Improving the Party's Work Style/

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Central Committee has stressed once and again the necessity for improving the party's work style. Comrade Chen Yun has explicitly pointed out: "The party work style

of a ruling party involves the life and death of that party." This important instruction is of great significance in present and of far-reaching significance in future party building. In the final analysis, the question of the party's work style in whether or not our party can maintain its nature as the vanguard of the working class and its close ties with the masses of people. Whether the party's work style is good or not determines whether we can win the support of the people or not and the latter in turn determines the party's destiny. If the party's work style is good, it can effectively enhance the change of social habits for the better, greatly promote the building of socialist spiritual civilization and ensure smooth work in socialist modernization. If the party's work style is not good, the greatest danger is that the party will be divorced from the masses of people and if this is allowed to go on, the party may change its color.

The most important question in improving the party's work style is to continue to increase the whole party's understanding of the question of the party's work style, the understanding of CPC committees at all levels in particular, and bring the thoughts of the whole party in line with the instructions of the CPC Central Committee. Party organizations at all levels in our province have seriously studied the Central Committee documents and speeches of central leading comrades concerning improving the party's work style, have recalled the new situation that since our party came to power throughout the country, some party members and cadres have been easily contaminated with unhealthy trends of abusing their power in seeking personal interests and bureaucracy and so on, have analyzed the present state of affairs that the poor work style of the party is relatively common as a result of the decade of internal turmoil, have summed up the outstanding unhealthy trends of respective departments and localities, have made concerted efforts to resolutely correct them and have had good results and experiences. This has deepened the understanding, increased the confidence and increased the consciousness in improving the party's work style, practice has proved that in units and localities where people have a better understanding of this question, the CPC committees there have attached greater importance to the question of the party's work style, adopted a resolute attitude and effective measures in correcting unhealthy trends and can consciously play an exemplary role in this respect, thus bringing about an apparent change for the better in the party's work style. On the contrary, because they have not seriously studied instructions given by the Central Committee, a small number of units and localities do not have a clear understanding of the great significance of improving the party's work style. They have stressed that they are too busy in work and production to pay attention to the party's work style. They have even set improving the party's work style against enlivening the economy and have not put the question of improving the party's work in a proper position. Consequently, they are not making enough efforts to improve the party's work style. It can be seen from this situation that constantly increasing the understanding of the importance, urgency and protracted nature of improving the party's work style is an important link in improving the party's work style.

With the efforts of the whole party in the past few years, the party's work style in our province has obviously changed for the better, unhealthy trends have been checked to a great extent, the party's prestige has been raised and ties between

the party and the masses have become closer. In 1981, party organizations at various levels in our province led the masses of people in triumphing over the most serious flood of the past 100 years. This is an outstanding example proving that the main body of our party's rank and file is pure and powerful and that it is entirely possible to effect a fundamental turn for the better in our party's work style. However, we must also soberly see that the problem of impurities in ideology, style and organization actually exists in our party and the phenomenon that a very small number of party members and cadres engaging in unhealthy trends and violating laws and regulations is still quite serious and has even increased in some aspects. The whole party must constantly increase their understanding and make unremitting efforts to effect a fundamental turn for the better in the party's work style.

/2. Safeguarding Political Discipline Is the Most Important Task of Discipline Inspection Work/

Ensuring that the whole party will be politically in line with the Central Committee is a basic demand in strengthening party building and increasing the party's combat capacity. In a speech delivered at the Central Committee's work conference held in December 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed that each party member and party organizations at all levels must keep in line politically with the CPC Central Committee and that this should be the focus of the party's discipline inspection work at present. The central discipline inspection committee has put forward once and again that resolutely keeping in line politically with the Central Committee is most important in political discipline and has demanded that discipline inspection departments at all levels must regard safeguarding political discipline as the most important task.

By doing practical work, we feel that in improving the party's work style, we must inspect cases of party members violating discipline organizationally and in their work style and mete out punishment, but what is more important is to first inspect cases of violation of political discipline and mete out punishment. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party's line, principles and policies have been correct and the leadership of the CPC Central Committee has been entirely reliable. All party members, leading cadres at all levels in particular, must keep in line politically with the Central Committee and are not allowed to have their own way. Only in this way can we ensure resolute implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. However, viewed from the situation in our province, a small number of party members are deeply influenced by "leftist" ideas. They either passively resist the party's line, principles and policies or accept only what they need. Some of them have violated the four cardinal principles and have shown a tendency toward bourgeois liberalization. Although most of these problems are ideological ones, they will affect ideological and political unity of the whole party if they are not solved in good time. Besides, a very small number of people who have risen to power through rebellion, who are seriously influenced by factionalism and who participated in beating, smashing and looting have unjustly occupied

leading posts. They continue to form factions and cliques, stir up trouble, feign compliance, resort to two-faced tactics, oppose the party's line, principles and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session and slander central leading comrades. After their political failure, some have energetically engaged in criminal activities in the economic field. They are small in number but are very harmful and constitute a hidden danger. We should never underestimate them but must maintain high vigilance and resolutely expose them and struggle against them.

Not keeping in line politically with the Central Committee is the most harmful act of violating party discipline. Discipline inspection committees at all levels in our province have already paid much attention to this and have made it a point to struggle against it in our work. From now on, we must continue to regard safeguarding political discipline as the most important work and grasp it firmly in order to ensure ideological and political unity throughout the whole party, the purity of party organizations and the fulfillment of the general task of the party in the new period.

/3. Education on the Struggle Against Corrosive Influence Is an Important Measure in Rectifying the Party's Work Style and in Strengthening Party Building/

In our country, because class struggle still exists within a certain scope for a long time and may be intensified under certain conditions and because exchanges with foreign countries increase, resulting from the implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas is a real danger. During the period of the development of socialism, the struggle between capitalist ideological influence and socialist ideological counterforce will inevitably last for a long time. Facts which have been brought to light in our province in the past few years have proved that the situation of party members and cadres being influenced is very grave. How to prevent party members from being influenced by capitalist ideology and from changing their color has become a very important task in building our party--a ruling party--under new historical conditions. Therefore, doing a good job in carrying out education on the struggle against corrosive influence among party members and cadres is an important task of discipline inspection departments.

In the work of the past few years, in the struggle to hit at serious economic crimes in particular, most of the CPC committees and discipline inspection committees at all levels have paid attention to carrying out education on the struggle against a corrosive influence among party members and cadres. Some units and localities where such education has been properly carried out have mainly used typical positive and negative examples in their respective departments and localities in education in addition to organizing studies of documents, report meetings and forums in light of reality. On the one hand, they have commended fine party members who are standing at the forefront of the struggle against corrosive influences and have set examples for others to learn from. On the other hand, they have selected instructive important cases for exhibition on crimes, edited and handed out material about them and written commentaries deeply analyzing the causes of corruption, changing color and committing crimes so that

people may draw a lesson from them and take warning. This vivid and concrete education by means of examples with striking contrasts is very convincing and has played the role of "educating a large number of people after a case has been investigated and handled." Besides, they have also worked out measures to perfect rules and regulations, eliminate loopholes, and improve ideology and style in order to consolidate the results of education. All places which have carried out education in this way have increased the consciousness of the broad masses of party members and cadres in remolding their world outlook, increased their ability in resisting corrosive influences and deepened their understanding of the party's line, principles and policies. This is greatly conducive to rectifying the party's work style and strengthening party building.

Conducting education on the struggle against corrosive influence is an arduous task that lasts for a long time. Discipline inspection committees at all levels should cooperate with departments concerned and persist in carrying out this education in a deep-going way so that the broad masses of party members and cadres may firmly establish communist ideals and conviction, constantly heighten their party spirit and always maintain the party's communist purity.

/4. Strengthening Leadership by CPC Committees Is a Guarantee for Doing a Good Job in Discipline Inspection Work/

Improving the party's work style and strictly enforcing party discipline is a matter of utmost importance in building a ruling party. Only if CPC committees strengthen their leadership can the strength of the whole party be mobilized to correct unhealthy trends and safeguard party discipline under guidance and in a planned way. In the past few years, most of the CPC committees at all levels have put the work of discipline inspection on the order of the day, seriously carried out discussions and studied problems, assigned tasks for discipline inspection committees and often supervised and enhanced the fulfillment of these tasks. They have strengthened the building of discipline inspection organizations and readjusted and sent more leading backbones to these organizations. They have supported discipline inspection departments in their struggle against unhealthy trends and helped them solve problems and eliminate interference and resistance. Some CPC committees have themselves handled typical cases and corrected outstanding unhealthy trends. In this way, they have promoted constant progress in discipline inspection work.

Improving the party's work style is an important task of the whole party and is also the fundamental task of discipline inspection departments. How to arouse the initiative and enthusiasm of discipline inspection departments is also very important in improving the party's work style and in properly carrying out discipline inspection work. Experiences of departments and localities in our province where discipline inspection work has been carried out relatively well have shown that the reason why the discipline inspection committees there have made marked achievements in their work is that they have realized by doing practical work that regarding improving the party's work style as the fundamental task of discipline committees is the requirement for developing the situation and is an important duty of discipline inspection departments stipulated by the Central Committee. Consequently, they can conscientiously shoulder this

glorious task, pay attention to carrying out regular investigations and studies, report, in good time, the situation to CPC committees and discipline inspection committees at higher levels, put forward suggestions and make reports and ask for instructions in their work. They can boldly adhere to principles and, despite difficulties, carry through to the end their struggle against unhealthy trends and violation of discipline within the party. They can give active support and help to discipline inspection committees at lower levels. They can also closely cooperate with departments concerned in organizing strength from various quarters to make concerted efforts to improve the party's work style so that the work of discipline inspection committees has developed from pure investigation and handling of cases of violation of discipline to mainly improving the party's work style, thus raising discipline inspection work to a higher level.

Practice has proved that strengthening leadership of CPC committees is closely linked with giving full play to the initiative and enthusiasm of discipline inspection committees and strengthening cooperation of these committees with departments concerned, but the former is the most fundamental aspect. Discipline inspection committees at all levels must energetically and actively do our work well under the leadership of CPC committees and staunchly struggle to safeguard party discipline and improve the party's work style.

(3)

The 12th CPC National Congress adopted the correct program of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. The work report of the central discipline inspection commission approved by the congress has put forward suggestions for discipline inspection work for a period of time in future. Discipline inspection departments at all levels and all discipline inspection cadres must seriously study and implement the guidelines of documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and strive to do their work well in order to ensure the realization of the policies and tasks put forward at the 12th National Congress.

At present, the central task of discipline inspection committees at all levels is to shift further the party's discipline inspection work from mainly handling cases of party members violating discipline to mainly improving the party's work style. Under the unified leadership of CPC committees, we must seriously rectify the party's work style and organizations, strictly enforce party discipline, persist in struggling against various unhealthy trends and violations of laws and discipline within the party and strive to effect a fundamental turn for the better in the party's work style within 5 years. In order to do so, we have put forward the following suggestions for discipline inspection work in our province for a period of time in future.

/1. Assist CPC Committees in Implementing the Spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and Ensure Political Unity Between the Whole Party and Central Committee/

The correct program of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and a series of principles and policies adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress are the basis for all our party's work in future. Discipline inspection

committees at all levels must adhere to the four cardinal principles, supervise the implementation of the party's program, line, principles and policies adopted at the 12th CPC National Congress and ensure political unity between the whole party and the Central Committee. We should regard these as the focus of our work and seriously strengthen inspection work on political discipline. We should selectively inspect how the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress is implemented by party organizations at various levels and report in good time anything important to higher levels. Particularly, we must inspect in good time and solemnly handle people who oppose the four cardinal principles with "leftist" or rightist ideas and words and deeds which have seriously violated political discipline by vilifying and attacking the line of the 12th CPC National Congress.

At present, we must lay special stress on keeping in line with the Central Committee in problems concerning reforms. We must actively protect and support all reforms which are being carried out in the direction of socialism, resolutely oppose and stop erroneous words and deeds that obstruct reforms and seriously inspect and punish a small number of people who take advantage of reforms by engaging themselves in unhealthy trends and violating laws and discipline.

/2. Cooperate With Departments Concerned and Seriously Do a Good Job in Consolidating the Party/

Starting from the second half of this year, we will carry out an overall consolidation of the party's work style and the party's organizations by steps and in groups within 3 years. This is an important measure for striving to effect a fundamental turn for the better in the party's work style. Discipline inspection committees at all levels must follow the plan of the provincial CPC committee and the Central Committee, actively participate in the current consolidation of the party and do it well.

First we must participate in consolidation of the party at selected spots, familiarize ourselves with the situation, study problems and accumulate experiences in order to use them as guidance for our work in the future.

In the process of consolidating the party, we must cooperate with the propaganda and organizational departments and carry out education on the new party program among party members. In accordance with the stipulations of the party program, we must stress education on communist ideas, basic knowledge of the party, the party's work style and party discipline. We must do a good job in consolidating party organizations and leaning groups, resolutely clear out of leading groups the "three kinds of people" and those who oppose the Central Committee's line adopted since the third plenary session or who have seriously violated the laws and discipline and properly carry out work in meting out organizational punishment for party members who have committed mistakes.

/3. Strictly Enforce the Party's Discipline and Resolutely Correct Various Kinds of Unhealthy Trends/

We cannot postpone the work to effect a fundamental turn for the better in the party's work style of the overall consolidation of the party. From now on, discipline inspection committees at all levels must regularly inspect and find out the situation of how party organizations and party members implement the party program and the "guiding principles," sum up and popularize experiences in improving the party's work style since the third plenary session, strengthen investigations and studies on the existing state of the party's work style and party discipline, inspect and correct various kinds of unhealthy trends and solemnly handle cases of violation of laws and discipline. We must correct, in a planned way, by steps and within a time limit, unhealthy trends which are most harmful and which the masses feel greatly incensed, such as abusing one's power and illegally seizing land to build houses for oneself, indiscriminately felling trees, seriously violating financial and economic discipline, suppressing democracy and retaliation and so on in order to promote a continuous change for the better in the party's work style.

The focus of the work in inspecting and correcting unhealthy trends must be put on leading organs and leading cadres. We must adopt the method of one level grasping the work of the next and gradually set examples for the masses one level after another. In the process of struggling against unhealthy trends and offenses in violating laws and discipline, we must strictly enforce party discipline, adhere to the principle of equality for all in the face of discipline and laws and resolutely oppose acts of indulgence in mistakes, overleniency and connivance.

/4. Continue To Hit at Serious Crimes in the Economic Field and Carry This Struggle Through to the End/

Hitting at serious crimes in the economic field is the party's fighting task for a long period to come. Discipline inspection committees at all levels must cooperate with departments concerned, sum up experiences in the struggle, increase our strength, adopt various effective measures, firmly grasp work in weak links, eliminate interference and resistance, shorten time for investigations and for cracking cases and unswervingly carry out this struggle in a deep-going way and carry it through to the end.

During the struggle, we must correctly understand the policies, strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and carefully handle each case. We must solemnly punish, according to party discipline and state laws, those party members who have abandoned communist ideology, committed crimes and undermined the socialist cause.

We must further combine the work of hitting at economic crimes with education on resisting corrosive influence, make full use of positive and negative typical examples and carry out various forms of propaganda and education in order to constantly increase the ability to resist corrosive influence of the party members, cadres and the people.

/5. Strengthen Leadership Over Discipline Inspection Work and Increase the Fighting Strength of the Discipline Inspection Contingent/

In order to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in the party's work style and, in particular, to maintain a good party work style while our party is a ruling party during the new historical period, we must further strengthen our party's discipline inspection work.

We must earnestly ensure dual leadership of CPC committees at the same level and discipline inspection committees at higher levels over discipline inspection committees at various levels. In order to strengthen CPC committees' leadership over discipline inspection committees, we suggest that local CPC committees at all levels appoint a secretary or a member of the CPC committee Standing Committee to act as secretary of the discipline inspection committee at the same level and to take charge of discipline inspection work. Discipline inspection committees at higher levels must regularly inspect and help discipline inspection committees at lower levels in their work and give more concrete guidance and support.

Discipline inspection committees at all levels must carry out supervision over CPC committees and their members at the same level within the scope stipulated in the party constitution. If we have discovered that CPC committees at the same level or their members have violated party discipline or state laws, we should report to CPC committees at the same level and have the right to report directly to discipline inspection committees and CPC committees at higher levels, and even to the Central Committee without the approval of CPC committee at the same level. With the approval of CPC committees at the same level or the approval of CPC committees and discipline inspection committees at higher levels, we must inspect and handle, according to the party's principles, cases of members of CPC committees at the same level who allegedly violated discipline.

Discipline inspection committees at all levels must strengthen themselves organizationally and ideologically. At present, the establishment of organs, the size of staff and the quality of discipline inspection committees at various levels of our province are still a far cry from the needs of the situation and our tasks. In order to change this situation, units above the county level which have not yet set up discipline inspection organs must set up these organs as quickly as possible, and those which have already set up discipline inspection organs should increase the number of capable cadres in them. District and commune (township) CPC committees should have full-time or part-time discipline inspectors. We must select and transfer to the discipline inspection contingent cadres with high party spirit and good work style who dare to struggle against various unhealthy trends and activities violating laws and discipline. Leading groups of the discipline inspection committees at all levels must have a number of young and middle-aged fine cadres in them. Generally speaking, members of Standing Committees of discipline inspection committees should be full-time members. The appointment and removal of leading cadres of discipline inspection

committees must be approved by discipline inspection committees at the next higher level. We must strengthen education and training of discipline inspection cadres, improve their political quality and raise their professional level, constantly improve work methods and work style and open a new situation in discipline inspection work.

Under the guidance of the 12th CPC National Congress, our great socialist cause is forging ahead along the correct path of Marxism. The party has set increasingly higher demands on us and the broad masses of party members and the people have placed very high hopes on us. Under the leadership of CPC committees and discipline inspection committees at higher levels, discipline inspection committees at all levels must rely on the broad masses of people, unite with all party members, strive to bring about a fundamental change for the better in the party's work style and struggle hard to build our party into a powerful core leading the socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/669

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGZHOU RIBAO' ON UNITED FRONT WORK

HK010500 Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 17 Feb 83 p 4

[Article by Xu Liang [1776 0081]: "Develop and Strengthen the Patriotic United Front During the New Period"]

[Text] The 12th CPC Congress fully affirmed the position and role of the patriotic united front during the new period and put forward the direction and tasks of united front work. It is of great significance to study and implement the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, develop and expand the patriotic united front, unite all forces that can be united and arouse all positive factors to fight for realizing the great task put forward by the 12th CPC Congress.

The problem of the united front is in fact a problem of how the proletariat and its political party will organize and lead its alliance. By proceeding from the reality of China, the CPC and Comrade Mao Zedong applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and successfully created a whole set of theory, principle, policies and tactics for the united front that became an important magic weapon of the CPC in seizing the final victory of the new democratic revolution and scoring great achievements in socialist transformation and construction. Numerous facts in the history of our party have proved that whenever we correctly handle the problem of united front work, our revolution and construction cause develops and is consolidated; otherwise, it suffers setbacks and fails.

Some comrades think that united front work does not matter very much at present. This is a muddle idea. The united front is a powerful weapon wielded by the party to mobilize and organize the people in accomplishing the tasks of revolution and construction at various historical periods. There are three great tasks set forth for the people of China in the 1980's: "speed up the building of socialist modernization; strive to realize the unification of the motherland, including Taiwan; and oppose hegemonism and maintain world peace." This great historical task can be realized only on the basis of close unity between the workers, peasants and intellectuals and by arousing millions of people, uniting the broad ranks of alliances to form into an extensive patriotic united front and through joint efforts. Thus, it is obvious that the united front is not an issue that "does not matter very much and is not essential," but rather one that concerns the success or failure of the three great tasks of 1980's, the rise or fall of the socialist cause, and the destiny and future of the state and party.

Guangzhou bears particular responsibility in consolidating and strengthening the patriotic united front. Guangzhou is situated at the southern border of China and is contiguous to Hong Kong and Macao, and close to Taiwan. It is a main port for import and export and has a long history of external contacts. As a cradle of China's democratic revolution and an important place where the party initiated the united front, Guangzhou has a glorious revolutionary tradition. The democratic parties throughout the country all have organizations established in Guangzhou; therefore, Guangzhou has a perfect united front organization and large numbers of valuable people. At the national conference of united front work, Comrade Hu Yaobang listed approximately 10 aspects of united front work. Guangzhou has over 1 million people involved. In all the 10 aspects, their political attitude, ideological mood and socialist initiative not only occupy a decisive position in the political situation and all work of the whole city, but also have far-reaching influence at home and abroad. Facts have proved that for a considerable period in future, provided the Communist Party exists and its historical task is not yet accomplished, there is a need for the existence of the united front and it will still have a strong vital force. Those viewpoints that regard "the work of the united front as a work of the CPC Central Committee and that it does matter very much to Guangzhou" and "it is the work of the higher level and not very important to my unit" are also incorrect.

The party's united front work, as always, is an important component part of the work of the whole party and an indispensable work to realize the general line and general task of the party. Some comrades hold that "united front work is a matter of the united front work departments and has nothing to do with me." This viewpoint is one-sided and disadvantageous to the development and expansion of the patriotic united front. United front work serves the central task of the party. Under the unified leadership of the party, united front work does not contradict with the work of other departments, but rather complements it.

Provided united front work is done well, the party's united front policies are implemented and the initiative of the people of all circles are aroused, the work of the whole will be greatly promoted. Therefore, united front work can neither be departed from the situation of the whole, nor can the situation of the whole be departed from united front work. Particularly in the new historical period, the objective of united front work is to get more, not less, and the range of united front work is not being narrowed but expanded. The developing situation certainly demands the united front work departments to make great efforts to do their work well. However, it is impossible for the united front work departments alone to successfully accomplish the historical task of the united front. We can succeed only when the whole party sets to work, is of one heart and one mind and pools the wisdom and efforts of everyone.

Precisely for this reason, the general program of the new party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress clearly stated that the CPC unites with all workers, peasants and intellectuals, and with all democratic parties, nonparty democrats and the patriotic forces of all the nationalities in China in further

expanding and fortifying the broadest possible patriotic united front and also clearly stipulated that the central, local and primary organizations of the party must frequently discuss and check the party's united front work. This is to say, further expanding and fortifying the patriotic united front is a solemn task of the whole party. The party organizations at all levels should regard this as their own task, earnestly place united front work on the top order of the day, so that it can become a regular system and give full play to the role of the united front during the new period. There are bright prospects for the patriotic united front. At present, we must profoundly implement the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress, continue to eliminate the influence of "left" deviation, so that the principle and various policies of the party's united front can be appropriately carried out in the new period, and make contributions for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization in Guangzhou.

CSO: 4005/669

PARTY AND STATE

REN ZHONGYI'S REPORT TO GUANGDONG CPC CONGRESS

HK221131 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Mar 83 pp 1-3

["Reform, Surge Ahead and Create a New Situation--Ren Zhongyi's Report to the Fifth Guangdong Provincial CPC Congress (24 February 1983)"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Comrades,

On behalf of the Fourth Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee, I make the following work report to the Fifth Provincial CPC Congress.

I.

The 4th Provincial CPC Congress was convened in the spring of 1978 and 5 years have elapsed since then. These 5 years were characterized by restoring order and gradual progress in reforming. During this period and under the correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee, the party organizations at various levels have united and led the people across the province in doing the following major tasks:

/1. Eradicated the influence of the "leftist" mistakes and ideologically carried out hard work in restoring order./

Under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, the provincial CPC Committee and the party committees at various levels have launched discussions on the criterion of truth and criticized the wrong ideology of the "two whatevers." Over the past few years, the party committees at various levels have repeatedly disseminated among the broad masses of party members, cadres and people the party line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, organized the broad masses of party members in studying the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee on certain historical questions in the party since the founding of the PRC and the documents of the 12th Party Congress. In the process of this study, we have constantly summed up experiences and lessons and eradicated the "leftist" influence of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and prior to it and consequently

all this has resulted in restoring order. Compared with the situation prior to the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the ideological understanding and spiritual situation within and outside the party have now experienced tremendous changes. The long-standing bondage of dogmatism and personality cult have been broken through and the ideological line of emancipating thinking and seeking truth from facts has taken deeper root among the masses of people. Such a change in people's ideology has promoted in a big way the reforms and development of various sectors.

/2. Redressed grievances and wrong cases and implemented various personal policies./

The provincial CPC committee and the party committees at various levels have followed the policies of the CPC Central Committee and the principle of seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes and have resolutely redressed all grievances that were caused during the period in which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran rampant. At the same time tremendous work has been done to correct the wrong cases that were left over from previous political movements since the founding of the PRC, and as a result, the problems of about 200,000 people were solved. Measures have also been taken to gradually implement the policies on cadres, intellectuals and the united front. The work of getting rid of the labels of landlords and rich peasants and of the origin of the sons and daughters of landlords and rich peasants has been completed across the province, as has the work of differentiating the original "three smalls" of industry and commerce (small merchants, peddlers and handicraftsmen). All the rightists that were wrongly judged have been redressed.

The redressing of these grievances and wrong cases and the implementation of the party's various policies have strengthened the unity between the party and the people, raised the prestige of the party among the people and mobilized the initiative of various aspects. All this has created an important situation for shifting the key work of the party and for the realization of concerted effort in carrying out the modernization program.

/3. Gradually developed socialist democracy, perfected the socialist legal system and consolidated and developed a political situation of unity and stability./

Following the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, socialist democracy has been gradually restored and developed and the system of democracy has been reformed to certain extent. Prefectural people's congresses and the people's congresses below the prefectural level have been formed through direct election and the people's congresses above prefectural level have set up their own standing organizations so as to guarantee the right of the people as masters of their country. At the same time, the provincial CPC committee has also strengthened its leadership over mass organizations such as workers' unions, peasants' associations, CYL organizations, women's organizations, scientific research and cultural organizations, social organizations,

overseas Chinese organizations, Taiwan people's federations and industrial and commercial organizations, restored and activated the work of the people's political consultative conference, consolidated and expanded the patriotic united front, strengthened the relationship between the party and the people of various sectors and expanded democracy within the party. The party committees at various levels have also strengthened the work of receiving and replying to the letters from the masses and receiving their visits and have often listened to their opinions.

The socialist legal system has also been gradually strengthened. The people's congresses at various levels have displayed their roles as organs of power. The Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress has taken active measures in carrying out legal work in localities. Measures have also been taken to strengthen procuratorial and judicial organs and the ranks of political and legal workers. And now we have been able to gradually carry out our work according to legal system.

Since last year, the whole province has resolutely implemented the decision of the CPC Central Committee and State Council and launched the struggles to crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic sector to expose and handle a number of serious economic criminal cases, saved a number of those people who lost their way and gave profound education to the broad masses of party members, cadres and the people on fighting against corruption.

Over the past few years, our province has quickly uncovered a number of agents and counterrevolutionary cases and banned illegal organizations and publications and hit hard at the various criminal groups and criminals that were damaging social security and strengthened comprehensive work in social order. Thanks to these measures, our province has been able to maintain a relatively good social order even though it has been opened to outside world. The number of criminal cases throughout the province in 1982 was 22.4 percent lower than the previous year and the number of particularly serious cases dropped by 9.3 percent. The PLA commanders and fighters stationed in the province have made contributions to consolidating sea and border defense and in safeguarding the security of the country. Under the new situation, militia organizations have been readjusted and strengthened organizationally, politically and militarily. The people's democratic dictatorship has been further consolidated.

/4. Considerable achievements have been made in taking economic construction as the key work of the party committees at various levels./

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the provincial CPC committee and the committees at various levels have resolutely shifted their key work to economic construction and constantly implemented economic policies since the convening of the 3d Plenary Session. When they were in charge of organizing work in Guangdong Province, Comrades Xi Zhongxun and Yang Shangkun began to carry out special policies and take flexible measures in the province after such policies and measures were put forth by the provincial CPC committee and approved by the CPC Central Committee. Over the past few years, the

provincial CPC Committee has also spared no effort in grasping the work of readjusting, restructuring, reorganizing and upgrading the national economy and popularizing in rural areas the system of contracting responsibilities with payment linked to output. Initial reforms have been conducted in industrial and commercial system and management; the autonomy of some enterprises has been expanded and resolute measures have been taken to relax policies, activate the economy and expand economic activities with foreign countries. Over the past few years, the economy in our province has been developing quite rapidly. The province's gross industrial and agricultural output value in 1982 was 33.6 percent higher than 1978, with an average annual growth of 7.5 percent. The province's gross industrial output value was 38.1 percent higher than 1978, with an average annual growth of 8.6 percent. Total grain output in 1982 was 37.5 billion jin, the highest record in history. Sugarcane output was 18.7 percent higher than the previous year, also a record high. Foreign trade and exports have grown rapidly and the volume in 1981 was double the figure of 1978. Exports from the province dropped last year because of the sluggish international market and increases in the cost of exchanges of currencies; but in the past 4 years, the exports of the average grew by more than 20 percent annually. In the past 4 years, the total volume of the net purchases and sales of commodities in home market recorded an average annual growth of more than 13 percent. The business of state, collective and individual commerce has become more and more brisk while the supply of commodities has been increasing. In the past 4 years, a total of 11.5 billion yuan of investments were made in capital construction, with more than 15,000 big and small projects completed. Huangpo harbor, Zhanjiang harbor and number of civil airports have been expanded. The construction of several main highway lines, big bridges and inner river harbors and a number of post and telecommunication projects has been stepped up and some have been completed, while the projects of building the multiple tracks of the Beijing-Guangzhou railway and Sanshui-Maoming railway are being carried out. We have also newly built and expanded and reformed a number of factories, mining shafts, farms and big hotels. The construction of these projects has considerably strengthened the material and technical foundation of our province and this foundation will play an important role in future construction of the province. We have imported foreign capital and the capital from overseas Chinese as well as advanced production technology and management method. The province has imported more than 100,000 complete sets of various advanced equipment. In electronic industry alone, we have imported 61 assembly and production lines. Some of these imported equipment is of an advanced level. We now mass-produce products that were beyond our capacity to produce in the past and many important technical blanks have been filled in. Good achievements have been made by special economic zones in reforming organizational system, making use of foreign capital, importing technology, carrying out basic construction, developing industrial and agricultural production and expanding exports and in political and cultural construction. The border towns of Shenzhen and Zhuhai were originally characterized by backward economy with their population constantly flowing out; but in a matter of 2 to 3 years, they have been turned into new towns with sizeable modern industry and commerce and rapidly growing tourism and production.

All the rural and urban areas across the province, from the Zhujiang delta and the Chaoshan plain to the wide hilly regions and from the mainland to Hainan Island are a scene of prosperity.

/5. Simultaneously carried out the building of material civilization and spiritual civilization.

It is our constant view that under the situation in which special policies are introduced, flexible measures are taken, open-door policy is implemented and experiments are made with regard to economic special zones, it is all the more necessary to uphold the four basic principles, strengthen political and ideological work and maintain good social habits. Therefore according to the specific conditions of Guangdong Province, we carried out socialist, collective and patriotic education in the rural and urban areas throughout the province. We have also launched education in fighting against the corruption of bourgeois ideology and it was followed by the activities of "five stresses and four beauties" that are focused on cleanliness and hygiene, courtesy and the dissemination and education of communist ideology following the 12th Party Congress. Good achievements have been made in these works. The broad masses of party members, cadres and people have been tested by new situations. People's socialist and patriotic enthusiasm has been growing, the atmosphere of studying culture and improving profession and technology is improving, countless good persons and things have emerged while people's spiritual outlook is also improving.

Through the measures for restoring order and eradicating "leftist" influence, new development has been made by such fronts as education, science and technology, culture and art, publication, health and sports.

The number of university students across the province is now 65 percent more than 1960, the year prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," and the number of graduate students is 700 percent more than those enrolled prior to the "Cultural Revolution." Development has also been recorded by TV university, correspondence university, staff education and technical schools. Initial achievements have been made in the reforms of the structure of secondary education while primary education has been further popularized. Achievements have also been made one after another on the scientific and technical front. In the past 4 years, our province has recorded a total of 1,776 achievements in science and technology, 66 percent of the total achievements made in the 28 years prior to the founding of the PRC. The number of scientists and technicians in the province is now 38.6 percent more than 1978 while the number of senior scientists and technicians has grown by 420 percent. Many more libraries, cinemas, opera houses and hospitals have been built. Our broadcasting and TV undertakings have made considerable progress.

/6. Developed production simultaneously with improving people's material and cultural life.

Since 1979, the more than 1,627,000 people in rural and urban areas across the province have been given jobs. The average income from wages and bonus of the staff and workers in the province in 1982 was about 50 percent higher than 1978. Thanks to the introduction of correct economic policies, the average income of

the rural population was more than 90 percent higher than 1978. The number of peasants households with income exceeding 1,000 to 100,000 yuan has increased. Villages with each household earning an income of 10,000 yuan have emerged in some places. In 1982, the completed new houses totaled 6.37 million square meters, 160 percent more than 1978. For quite a long period, urban areas have been characterized by shortage of water and electric supply and the lack of highways and commercial points and network; but this situation has been gradually improved over the past few years to improve production and living environment. Following the development of broadcasting, television programs, culture and publication and the increasing number of television sets, recorders and newspapers and magazines owned by the people and following the launching of the spare-time cultural, recreation and sports activities by the masses, the cultural life of the broad masses of people has been considerably improved.

/7. Strengthening party building in a great historical change./

In completing the great historical change of restoring order, the party organizations across the province have been constantly rectified, improved and consolidated and considerable progress has been made in the following five aspects. First, in the ideological line, the party organizations at various levels and the broad masses of party members have emancipated their thinking and they are daring to seek truth from facts and speak truth; they have changed their long-existing situation characterized by the personality cult and spiritual condition of considering things according to fixed slogans and stereotypes. Second, in the organizational aspect, the ranks of party members have been expanded, leading groups have been readjusted and the building of the ranks of cadres has been stepped up. Third, leading methods have been improved. A number of party organizations have paid more attention to carrying out study and investigations, grasping important principles and policies, concentrating their effort in party building, ideological and political work and they have made more progress in overcoming the shortcomings of the party representing administration and the party taking no care of party orientation. Fourth, the relationship between the party and nonparty organizations has been improved considerably, the work on the united front has been strengthened, the people's political consultative conference, various democratic parties and people's organizations have been restored and become active and the party policies on nationalities, religion and overseas Chinese have been gradually implemented. We have gradually restored and developed our close and heart-to-heart relations with our friends outside the party. Fifth, the party style of work has been gradually improved and more and more good party members with strong party character and good style of work and good cadres have come to the fore and the prestige of our party among the masses is becoming higher and higher. At the same time, we have stepped up the work on checking party discipline, organized party organizations and the broad masses of party members across the province to study and implement "several standards for inner-party political life" and waged struggles against the deeds within the party that were in violation of the party discipline. In particular, since we have implemented the decision of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council and cracked down on serious criminal activities in economic sectors, party members across the province have received a profound education on the nature of the party and on fighting against corruption and as a result, the party work style has been further improved.

II.

In the past 5 years we have been able to constantly overcome difficulties and make these achievements and all these are first of all attributed to the correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the unremitting works carried out by the people across the province. As regards our work, there are some experiences and lessons that merit summarizing.

First, it is most important to be unanimous with the CPC Central Committee politically, to persist in the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and constantly strengthen firmness in Marxism through practice.

To be politically identical with the CPC Central Committee is an important political discipline of our party, and also an important guarantee for us to carry out our work smoothly and make achievements in various aspects. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the most important thing to be identical with the CPC Central Committee is to firmly implement the line, principles and policies of the 3d Plenary Session. In recalling our experiences over the past few years, we found that our various important works, all the reforms and the measures taken to create a new situation have all been carried out by following the line of the 3d Plenary Session. We deeply felt that the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has not only pointed out the direction for all our works but has also provided us with correct ideological method and wisdom.

The 4 years since the 3d Plenary Session have been years of a great turning point and great changes. All the great changes have given rise to struggles between different types of thinking. And yet our determination to follow the line of the 3d Plenary Session has never been wavered by various obstacles and temporary difficulties. We did not resort to the method of suppressing cadres and the masses who held different views by criticizing and labeling them. On the contrary, we resorted to the method of patient persuasion and constantly educated them with the increasing achievements made through the implementation of the line of the 3d Plenary Session. We are confident that the broad masses of cadres and people will ultimately protect the truth. This view has now been proven by countless facts.

Practice made us deeply understand that to implement the correct line and policies does not mean that everything will be plain sailing; the key question is that leadership must be firm and resolute. It is only when we are able to firmly grasp Marxism that we are able to constantly overcome difficulties and create new situations.

/Second, persist in the principle of proceeding from reality and encourage the broad masses of cadres and people to display their creativity in carrying out the modernization program./

Our practice has told us that we can in no way regard political identity with the CPC Central Committee as merely copying and passing down the instructions of the CPC Central Committee. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "To complete the directives from higher organizations in a blind way is no doubt implementing the

directives, but it is not a true implementation of the directives, it is the best way of opposing the directives or carrying them out in an indolent way." The CPC Central Committee has given approval for Guangdong Province to implement special policies and demanded that "the thinking of the provincial CPC committee must be further emancipated and that on the basis of profound consideration and meticulous calculation, display creativity and zeal and create a new situation through tremendous stamina." Basing ourselves on the ideological line defined by the 3d Plenary Session and the above-mentioned directives from the CPC Central Committee for Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee, we have all along combined these directives with the specific conditions of our province in carrying out the tasks assigned by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council. In economic work we suggested opening the door more widely to the outside world, relaxing policies internally and handing down more autonomy; in experimenting on special zones, we suggested opening even wider the field of our vision, thinking even further and making greater progress, so as to make the special zones really "special"; on the industrial and communication front, we suggested introducing the economic responsibility system and economic combines and smoothing out the relationship among the various links of production, circulation and consumption and the relationship among various departments; all these are based on the directives from the CPC Central Committee and on the specific conditions of our province. In early 1981, the CPC Central Committee assigned the work of further readjusting the national economy. We have conscientiously carried out this work and according to the specific conditions of the province, such as little heavy industry and big construction and the use of more foreign capital, we decided to combine the national economic readjustment with further implementing special policies, combine the necessary centralization with continuing to activate the economy and combine "cutting back enough" in some aspects with continuously promoting the national economy of the province. The results of these works are that the economy of our province has been able to grow at a relatively high rate during the readjustment period, and total industrial and agricultural output value in that year was 11.6 percent higher than the previous year, with improved economic efficiency.

The provincial CPC committee stressed that in implementing the policies of the CPC Central Committee, various regions in the province must proceed from their specific conditions and they can in no way cut with one knife. For example, we did not demand that the whole province use the same form of production responsibility system in agriculture and the same form of economic responsibility system in industrial and commercial enterprises; we permitted each to have its own features.

In carrying out the modernization program, it is necessary to support the cadres who have the courage to think, speak, act, and create a new situation. The cadres who have done enormous work with creativity will no doubt make some mistakes or have shortcomings, but we must understand their general direction. The provincial CPC committee pointed out that the cadres with creativity must be protected and encouraged. Over the past few years, many advanced units, creative experiences and capable cadres have emerged in industry, agriculture, commerce and service trades and the work of foreign economic relations and other fronts beside economic work.

Leading comrades from the CPC Central Committee pointed out that the more the people within the party and the masses who are willing to rack their brains and consider things, the more favorable they will be to our cause. In launching a revolution or in carrying out construction, we need a great number of the new pathbreakers who dare to consider, probe into and create new things. Without such pathbreakers, we will not be able to get rid of poverty and backwardness, let alone catching up with international advanced standards. We must bear in mind the directives from leading comrades in the CPC Central Committee. Party organizations at all levels must encourage and support party members and the masses of the people to display their creativity in their work so that they will become promoters in creating new situations in carrying out the socialist modernization program.

/Third, avoid wavering and tossing about and strive to maintain the continuity and stability of policies./

Though the current party policies are correct and are consequently protected by the people, because of the influence of the many changes in policies over the past many years, a number of cadres and people worried that the current policies will also be changes. Historical experiences have proved that many changes of policies have always hampered the initiative of the masses of people, caused losses to production and affected the prestige of the party. Therefore, no matter whether in our actual work or in propaganda, we have particularly stressed the importance of maintaining the continuity and stability of policies.

Like many other things, it is also very difficult to work out the policies that are perfect in every way. If policies are subject to change because they are incomplete, people will consequently lose confidence in these policies. Of course, it is a shortcoming for policies to become incomplete but it is still a more serious shortcoming to change policies often. Of course, it will not be possible for policies to remain unchanged. The wrong policies that hindered the development of production and social progress must not only be amended but must also be so done thoroughly. To change, correctly readjust and complete such policies will not be considered by the masses of people as a "change." What the people worried about is a "change" of returning to "leftist" road and a change to a bad direction from a series of good policies.

In order to ensure the continuity and stability of policies, we stressed the importance of carrying out full study and investigations before amending and readjusting certain policies, and of soliciting the opinions of cadres and the masses of the people. The orientation of amending policies is that these policies must be in the interest of promoting production, more in line with the interest of the state, collective and individuals [phrase indistinct]

Practice over the past few years told us that we must in no way go to extremes and resort to metaphysics, and these two aspects are important conditions to avoid wavering and to maintain the continuity and stability of policies. When we advocated emancipating our thinking and developing democracy, we also

stressed the importance of upholding the four basic principles; when we opposed bourgeois liberalism, we did not slacken our work to eliminate "leftist" influence and we continued to advocate emancipating thinking; when we stressed the importance of activating the economy, we also demanded to strengthen management and opposed dishonest practices; when we stressed the importance of centralization, we were also activating the economy. It can be seen now that we have made good achievements in our effort to basically maintain continuity and stability of policies and avoid oscillation.

/Fourth, implemented policies and strengthened unity so that the leading groups at various levels and the broad masses of party members will be able to make identical progress on the basis of party line./

We will be able to win victory only when we are able to make progress identically. In the past few years, we have been able to overcome various difficulties and constantly make progress, and a very important reason is that we have paid particular attention to protecting and strengthening the unity of party members on the basis of party line.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have followed the tasks assigned by the CPC Central Committee and we have taken a series of measures to protect the unity of the party. [Phrase indistinct] "gang of four," redress wrong cases and implement policies concerning people and all these are important measures for protecting and developing stability and unity. At the same time, we have also organized party members and cadres across the province to study the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee about uniting and looking forward. Following the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have also organized party members and cadres to conscientiously study the important exposition made by the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session; this exposition said that to correctly handle the contradictions within the people is a subject of state political life. We have also eradicated such "leftist" ideological influences as "taking class struggle as the key" and "line struggles exist in all matters" to change the practice of "raising to the higher plane of principle" at will that existed within the party for a long period and the tense atmosphere of endless criticism and struggles [words indistinct] as a result, normal party life has been gradually formed.

Practice proved that the key for party unity is the unity of leading groups at various levels. The provincial CPC committee has regarded it a very important requirement for leading groups at various levels to do a good job of unity, stressed the importance of handling the relationship among the comrades within the party according to party character, the interest of the whole and unity, resolutely implemented the directives from leading comrades in the CPC Central Committee that the problems left over by history must be handled generally, not meticulously, and resolutely used to the viewpoint of historical materialism in treating historical problems. It is imperative to sum up experiences and lessons, and clarify issues of principle, but it is not allowed to contend for personal interest or to be swayed by personal feelings. With regard to general ideological understanding and differing views in our works, it is advisable to have a chat and exchange opinions. All

comrades must be encouraged to "talk even if conversation gets disagreeable," listen to the opinions of those holding different views and under the premise of upholding the four basic principles and party line, they must learn to consider questions from different angles and make concessions on minor matters. All the members of leading groups must attend party organizational activities and the main contents of such activities are criticism and self-criticism.

When we are aware of our achievements and experiences, we must also understand that there were a number of shortcomings, problems and serious difficulties in our work over the past few years.

The Standing Committee of the provincial CPC committee has been mostly engaged in various meetings and handling routine works; its style of work has to be improved and its study and investigations over many questions are not profound and meticulous. It is true that leading comrades from the provincial CPC committee have visited rural areas, factories, organizations and schools, but in most cases they were just glancing over things hurriedly and therefore they just understand the general situations; only few have been able to carry out deep investigations and study questions systematically. And when grassroots levels and the masses of the people accumulated a number of good experiences, we did not make enough summary with important significance.

A number of works are yet to be carried out. For example, we have talked about and written in documents some reform items, methods for strengthening management and supervision and our demand on correcting the party style of work, but we did not conscientiously implement them. The provincial CPC committee has set up a system for urging the execution of its decisions but this system needs more checking and supervision from leading comrades. As a result, many works are yet to be carried out and it is often the case that some works have been carried out in the places that are paying attention to such works while some other places have not yet carried out the works because they do not pay attention. Some jobs that were defined a long time ago still have not been carried out for a long period because no one is responsible and because of wrangling with each other. We did not [word indistinct] use to the good style of work that is characterized by grasping typical examples and doing work thoroughly.

Some important works have not been grasped in time. For example, had we used resolute measures earlier to crack down on criminal activities in the economic sector and stop falling trees in time, the losses suffered would have been decreased tremendously. We are now in a very passive position in training middle-aged and young cadres because we were too late and the progress is slow.

We are not bold enough in some reforms. It is true that our province has made considerable achievements in reform works over the past few years, but we are still very far from meeting the requirements of the CPC Central Committee that Guangdong Province must be a step ahead. We are also lagging behind advanced fraternal provinces and municipalities in the reforms of organizations, dividing political and social work and city management over counties.

It is because there are many shortcomings and problems in our work that we have failed to do the work still better where possible, and to solve the problems in time where possible. The situation in which the growth of the national economy in our province over the past few years was lower than the national average growth has been changed, but the level of our economy and technology is still in the middle by national standards. The development of our economy is not balanced and many hilly regions are still relatively poor. The transportation of energy is still tight. A number of enterprises are still characterized by backward technology and management, old equipment and low economic efficiency. Development has been made in education and science and technology but they are still backward. All these showed that our province is still very far from meeting the requirements of the CPC Central Committee and the expectation of the people across the province.

Although there are mistakes, setbacks and difficulties, we have bright prospects. We deeply feel that we have taken the correct road over the past few years thanks to the leadership of the CPC Central Committee. The four basic principles must be upheld, seeking truth from facts and emancipating thinking must be advocated and we must be resolute in shifting our works to carrying out the socialist modernization program, carrying out reforms, opening the door to outside world and activating the economy. When we are recalling the works we have done since the 3d plenary session, we must further strengthen these concepts. As long as we are resolute in following this road, we will no doubt be able to create a new situation in carrying out the socialist modernization program.

III.

According to the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the specific conditions of our province, we must in future centre our works in economic construction and at the same time it is also imperative to do a good job in building socialist spiritual civilization, socialist democracy and the legal system and in party building. In order to create a new situation in the building of these four aspects and quicken the implementation of our socialist modernization program we must resolutely carry out a series of reforms in an orderly manner.

1. Economic Construction

The socialist modernization program must be focused on economic construction and the important link for creating a new situation in the modernization program in our province is to continue promoting economic construction.

The 12th Party Congress has put forth the strategic goal for quadrupling gross industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century. According to the requirements of the CPC Central Committee and the specific conditions of our province, we put forth the following goals. Under the premise of constantly raising economic efficiency, the provincial gross industrial and agricultural output value will be increased from 33.9 billion yuan in 1980 to 135.6 billion yuan in the year 2000, with an average annual growth of 7.2 percent. Efforts will be made to surpass this goal, quadruple the output value in advance and reach a well-off level.

According to the spirit of the 12th party congress and the specific conditions of our province the works will be carried out mainly in the following 2 stages: in the first 10 years, weak links will be strengthened, proportionate relations will be readjusted and overall and systematic reforms will be carried out so as to provide a good foundation for the development of the second stage. In the second 10 years, the pace of development will be quickened. As the situations in agriculture are different, it is not necessarily for agriculture to develop in two stages.

The defining and implementation of the Sixth 5-Year Plan represent a very important measure for realizing the grand goal in the next 20 years. The main tasks for the Sixth 5-Year Plan include grasping well the reforms of economic system and technology and realizing a relatively high economic efficiency and growth so that the gross industrial and agricultural output value in 1985 will reach 45.7 billion yuan, 34.8 percent higher than 1980 and with an average annual growth of 6 percent. Efforts will be made to surpass this figure.

In order to realize the economic development goal of our province, it is imperative for us to continue to implement the line, principles and policies of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, implement in an overall way the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, carry out the five measures put forth by Premier Zhao Ziyang in the Fifth Plenary Session of the Fifth NPC and continue to implement the special policies approved by the CPC Central Committee. On the basis of the specific conditions of our province, it is necessary to give prominence to grasping the following links:

(A) /Continue to do a good job of economic readjustment, grasp well the three strategic keys of agriculture, energy and transportation and education and science that are defined by the 12th Party Congress, concentrate funds and quicken construction./

The rural economy in our province is now undergoing great changes. Our party committees at various levels must guide action adroitly according to circumstances and promote the development of these changes. The resolution made by the CPC Central Committee on some questions in the present rural economic policies has systematized and concretized both the theory and policies of the rural economy and we must take active measures to conscientiously implement this resolution. The reforms of industry, commerce and other trades must catch up with those in agriculture and these sectors must be active in supporting agriculture. It is imperative to continue to relax the policies in rural areas, further popularize and perfect the system of contracting responsibilities with payment linked to output and work hard to improve the "contract" system. Key households, specialized households and specialized groups must be developed in a big way and the roles of various "talents" in rural areas must be fully displayed. On this basis, peasants must be encouraged to form economic alliances on a voluntary basis. Commodity economy in rural areas must be developed in a big way, the commodity rate must be raised and effort must be made to gradually get rid of the self-sufficient natural economy. Producers

must have the right to handle the products that are left after meeting state purchasing quotas. Under proper control, peasant individuals and collective must be allowed to undertake commerce, selling and transporting. It is necessary to promote in a big way the socialization of work which serves production and technology. Specialized and socialized service companies may be set up in the areas of farm machinery, transportation, fodder, processing of agricultural products, plant protection and pest prevention. Develop agro-science and technology in a big way, actively popularize the knowledge of agro-science among the broad masses of peasants and popularize various scientific and technical achievements. Considerable achievements have been made throughout the province in popularizing the knowledge of crossbreeding fine rice strains, and the application of complex fertilizer and mixed fodder, and this work must be further developed. Under the premise of insuring the growth of grain output, we must be active in opening up new production sectors. According to the specific conditions of our province, it is imperative to develop tropical and sub-tropical crops and further develop forestry, animal husbandry, fishery, processing of agricultural products and other diversified forms of economic management. Effort must be made to develop forestry in a big way, protect natural resources and ecological environment and develop farms and particularly rubber plantations. We must make full use of rivers, lakes and seas surface and develop aquatic breeding and fishing. Agricultural funds must be rationally used, farm capital construction must be strengthened and the conditions for agricultural production must be improved. We must also support, assist and promote in a big way the construction in hilly regions and encourage cities and economically advanced coastal regions to form economic unity with hilly regions. The enterprises run by people's communes and production teams are an important part of the agricultural economy and therefore they must be protected and given guidance so that they will be able to develop healthily. While measures are being taken to relax agricultural policies and activate the rural economy, it is imperative to strengthen leadership and management. The building of party organizations and political power at grassroots levels in rural areas must be carried out well. All government laws and orders and instructions must be implemented and efforts must be made to maintain social order; relations between the state, collective and individuals must be handled properly, state purchasing quotas must be fulfilled and collective public welfare must be correspondingly improved; it must be strictly forbidden to occupy cultivated land at will, fell trees or damage forests.

Energy and transportation are particularly weak links in our provincial national economy. The way to solve the energy problem is to combine exploitation with economy. During the current period, it is important first of all to reform equipment with high energy consumption, scientifically and rationally transform and use electricity and strengthen the management of electricity so as to save enormous amounts of energy. On the other hand, it is imperative to do a good job of production and construction in the fields of electricity, coal and oil. In particular, funds must be concentrated for building key electric-power stations and at the same time, active measures must be taken to build medium and small hydropower stations. Our province has rich resources of oil shales and

lignite, and they must be studied and utilized. We must be active in assisting the state departments concerned in prospecting and drilling for oil in the South China Sea and in the supporting services. We must step up the study and popularization of the technology for making use of methane, solar power and wind power. We must also step up our coordination with other places so as to import more fuel. In developing transportation it is necessary to make overall plans and arrangements and make rational locations. The building of the multiple tracks of the Beijing-Guangzhou railway, the Sanshui-Maoming railway and Hainan Island railway and the reforms of the Guangzhou-Shenzhen railway must be stepped up. Reconnaissance work for the Guangzhou-Longyan railway must also be stepped up and efforts must be made to build the Shantou-Meixian railway by making use of foreign capital; the Xijiang and Beijing waterways must be improved and the building of harbors must be stepped up; the highways linking Guangzhou with Hong Kong and Macao must be [word indistinct] while feasibility studies of highways must also be stepped up. Efforts must be made to build post and telecommunications facilities. All the major projects that have been arranged must be carried out and efforts must be made to complete them ahead of schedule. The potential of the present energy, transportation and telecommunications facilities must be further tapped.

Education and science must be developed along with the development of economic construction. The development of the economy of a modern society depends on the development of science and technology, and the development of science and technology depends on the development of education. For a long period, education in our province has developed slowly and it now lags far behind other advanced regions in the country. It has become an urgent task for us to develop education in our province as quickly as possible. The whole province must pay very much attention to this problem. In the years to come, we must resort to various forms and open up more channels to improve education while the initiative of various aspects must be tapped so that we will be able to run more schools with better results. Formal education, spare-time education, TV and broadcast education and correspondence education must be developed in a big way. We must spare no effort to popularize secondary education across the province in 1985. Big and medium-sized cities and prefectures which have already popularized primary school education must gradually popularize secondary education. Teachers' colleges must be developed in a big way so as to train more teachers. Particular attention must be paid to running more technical and vocational schools with still better achievements. The existing universities must further tap their potential and the enrollment of university students must be increased considerably. Many colleges may increase the number of day students and some others may set up correspondence courses. While efforts are being made to arrange the existing schools well, it is necessary to set up some universities that will be able to provide much-needed courses. In the next few years, we must build the universities of Shantou, Hainan and Shenzhen, and preparations must be made to set up financial, economic and political, and legal colleges so as to develop higher education in a big way. Education expenditures must be increased annually and the strength of various aspects in society must be mobilized so that not only the state is running schools but the collective will be encouraged and individuals will be allowed to run schools. Patriotic overseas Chinese and Hong Kong and Macao compatriots are welcome to finance and build schools.

It is also our strategic key to develop science and technology. Economic construction depends on science and technology and the latter must serve the former. Party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership over scientific and technical work, do a good job of implementing the policies on intellectuals and science and technology, and all sectors must create conditions for the development of science and technology. The departments concerned and scientific and technical forces in all spheres must be organized to define plans for the development of science and technology. Special efforts must be made to "tackle" key research items and at the same time to popularize the application of the existing research achievements and scientific and technical knowledge. The science referred here includes social science, because without social science it will not be possible to realize the socialist modernization program. It will not do to run enterprises without studying economic management, nor will it do to develop economy without studying political economics. Neither will it do to strengthen legal system without studying laws or to carry out any work without the guidance of Marxist theory. Therefore, we must spare no effort to develop our natural science and social science in a big way.

In order to guarantee strategic key points, we must concentrate funds from various aspects. We must follow the measures put forth by Comrade Zhao Ziyang in the Fifth Plenary Session of the Fifth NPC, strictly control the scale of investments, guarantee the rational use of construction funds, and improve the efficiency of investments, and in particular it is imperative to curtail blind construction that is aimed at expanding the capacity of ordinary processing industries. We must also increase production, economize and expand financial resources.

(B)/Continue to implement the open-door policy and take active measures to expand trade and economic relations and technological exchange with foreign countries./

We must make full use of local foreign exchange and foreign capital and further expand economic activities with foreign countries because all these represent an important way of building our province's economy. Our province lies along the coastal line, it neighbors Hong Kong and Macao and it is where a great many overseas Chinese are living. It has a long-standing historical tradition of exchange with foreign countries. Therefore our province has particularly favorable conditions for carrying out economic activities with foreign countries. We must fully understand and make use of these conditions. Within the autonomy of the province, it is imperative for us to further reform our work in improving economic relations with other countries and foreign trade. All irrational systems and methods that have constituted a barrier to making use of foreign capital, importing technology and developing exports and imports must be eradicated, and it is imperative to further implement the principles of opening the province still wider to outside world.

First of all, it is necessary to continue to encourage exports, expand markets in a big way and further activate foreign trade. We must spare no effort, so that our exports in 1985 will be able to earn \$2.5 billion of foreign exchange. We must strive to "promote exports through imports" and gradually increase the proportion in the total export value of exports of processed raw materials.

Foreign trade management must be improved and it is necessary to lessen the links between production and export, step up the circulation of capital and constantly raise economic efficiency. Every effort must be made to produce the export-oriented and profitable products and turn more and more products that are losing money to profitable ones. Technology related to export-oriented products, which have bright prospects, must be reformed, and the varieties of such products must be enriched so as to further improve their competitiveness. Particularly, the process of the reforms must be quickened. The economic responsibility system assuming full responsibility for profit and loss must be actively introduced in foreign trade organizations, a good job must be done of combining industry with trade, agriculture with trade and domestic with foreign trade, and gradually change the organs of foreign trade to enterprises and united enterprises.

On the basis of self-reliance, we must follow the principle of equality and mutual benefit and actively make use of foreign capital and the capital from overseas Chinese and Hong Kong and Macao compatriots. We must create good conditions for investment and cooperation, promote joint ventures, processing and assembling raw, materials from outside, and tourism, in a big way. In particular, we must import technology suitable to our conditions so as to promote the development of technology in our province. Efforts must be made to develop in a big way types of cooperative management which do not require repayment of capital with interest, whose risks are low, and which accord with our present financial and management level. Foreign capital must be used mainly in the construction and reform of the technology of existing enterprises in the energy and transportation sectors, and it is necessary to work out rational planning. All approved contracts and items must be built as soon as possible and not delayed. Priority must be given to arranging the items for the technical reforms of old enterprises which come within the power of the province to approve, and the procedures for approval must be simplified. The departments concerned must be active in making full use of the rich labor resources of our province and in organizing and developing international economic and technical cooperation such as labor export, technical service and project contracts.

In carrying out foreign trade and economic activities we must resolutely follow unified planning, concentrate our efforts and strengthen management and coordination. We must often sum up experiences and constantly improve our level in carrying out economic relations with foreign countries and in foreign trade.

We must be resolute in implementing the series of directives of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council about special economic zones, carry out our work in a down-to-earth way and quicken the construction of the zones. The various provincial departments concerned must support all the work of the special zones and help them solve problems. In addition to grasping basic construction, the various special economic zones must also import more foreign capital and advanced technology, develop production more rapidly, accumulate and sum up experiences still better and display their roles still further in the realization of the modernization program. Hainan Island is not a special zone but it can follow some of the methods that are used by special zones. We must implement the instructions made by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council about

the construction of Hainan Island, entrust the island with more autonomy and give it more support and promote the exploitation and construction of the island by relaxing policies and opening the door still wider to outside world.

Guangdong Province is an important home of overseas Chinese. Party committees at all levels in the province must pay attention to the work regarding overseas Chinese and conscientiously implement the policies on overseas Chinese. The support rendered by overseas Chinese and Hong Kong and Macao compatriots in the construction in their home area must be welcomed and encouraged. Correct policies and measures must be taken to increase and make use of overseas Chinese remittances.

(C) /Persist in improving economic efficiency as the core, carry out technical reforms with certain emphasis and in a planned way, and fully display the roles of the existing enterprises./

Further progress must be made in developing the economy of our province and it is necessary to continue to implement the current policies and mobilize initiative by relying on these policies. At the same time, efforts must be made to carry out technical reforms so as to promote the development of the economy under the impetus of technical progress.

Last year our province used about 1 billion yuan in technical forms, and more than 1,500 big and small items have been completed. In the next 2 to 3 years, we will raise about 3 billion yuan through various channels, of which 1.2 billion yuan will be used in the technical reform of the 270 major enterprises. When these projects are completed, we will be able to increase production output value by 2.6 billion yuan and profits and tax revenues by more than 500 million yuan. In addition, various regions and enterprises must carry out many small-scale technical reforms.

The technical reform of existing enterprises must be aimed mainly at improving economic efficiency and saving energy and raw materials. Efforts must be made to reform the structure of products and improve quality; renew the equipment and production technology of existing enterprises; use resources rationally and overcome pollution; popularize effective scientific and technical achievements and increase the production capacity of products in short supply.

Once places are able to fully display the potential of all their old enterprises and old bases, and to shoulder production tasks, it is not necessary to build new factories. This is a method for achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results.

In order to improve the technical level of enterprises, it is necessary not only to carry out major technical reforms but also to mobilize the broad masses of staff members and workers to make rational suggestions and carry out technical innovations. Small inventions and creations must be awarded because this practice will help encourage staff members and workers to improve their technology and love for enterprises. All enterprises must follow this principle.

All cities, towns and trades must reorganize enterprises in specialized departments. This is an important measure for improving the economic efficiency of enterprises. If there are one or two specialized casting and forging factories and electric-plating factories in a city, it will not be necessary for many enterprises to set up their own casting, forging and plating workshops. In this way, the problem of enterprises being "small but all-embracing" can be resolved and economic efficiency can be improved considerably. In reorganizing enterprises, it is necessary to strengthen planning and gradually set up companies which are related with different regions and departments and in line with the orientation of the economic development, and overcome the irrational situation in which the economy is split into different administrative regions. The readjustment and reorganization of enterprises must be combined with technical reforms.

(D) /Further activate the economy./

Over the past few years, leading comrades at all levels and in all economic departments have accumulated experiences as how to activate the economy. All the good experiences and methods that are in the interest of activating the economy must be kept up and used.

In the process of activating the economy, it is imperative to implement the principle stressed by Comrade Chen Yun that we must practice planned economy as the main and regulation [word indistinct] market mechanism as the supplement. The planning of a comprehensive policy for the development of the economy in the long term and in the near future must be defined well. The various regions, departments and enterprises that have their own plans and tasks must guarantee to fulfill state plans. On this basis, they may fully exploit their potential and, according to the demands of the regulation by market mechanism, carry out the production and coordination which comes outside state plans. The proportion of the regulation by market mechanism in the economy of our province is quite big. Therefore it is imperative for various regions, departments and enterprises to study market law and commercial information, carry out coordination to meet each other's needs and pay attention to purchase of goods and sale of products.

In stressing the importance of activating the economy, it is also necessary to strengthen management. All the measures for activating the economy can only be taken after study and investigation are made. It is also necessary to predict new situations and problems and carry out corresponding measures to prevent and solve them. The more the economy is activated, the stricter must be scientific management. What we demand is to activate without causing chaos.

(E) /Control the growth of population, stabilize prices and improve people's material and cultural life./

Controlling the growth of population is an important part of the planned economy. Achievements have been made in controlling the population growth in our province but it is still lagging behind. The rate of population growth in the province is still relatively high and therefore it is imperative for party committees at all levels to pay much attention to this work. They must depend on political

mobilization, laws and regulations and technical measures, carry out meticulous and hard work and carry out repetitive checking in their resolute determination to decrease the population growth in our province.

Social purchasing power has grown very rapidly in our province. We must, therefore, increase in a big way the output of agricultural and sideline products and light industrial consumer products, carry out selective and controlled import of some commodities by using local foreign exchange, further activate economic coordination within the province and with other provinces, further promote exchange of goods between rural and urban areas and spare no effort to increase the volume of retail sales of commodities in our province by 10 percent annually. At the same time, efforts must be made to strengthen control over prices so that the market will be brisk, prices stable and supplies improved.

During the Sixth 5-Year Plan, an annual average of 350,000 youths in cities and towns will be waiting for jobs and with the exception of the few that will be given jobs by the state, the employment of the majority of these people will be arranged through developing collective and individual economy. It is necessary to define a series of policies and measures to expand the channels for employment.

Following the development of production, efforts must be made to increase the income of both the urban and rural population. The economic development of various regions in our province is not balanced and the peasants' incomes differ very much from each other. Therefore it must be allowed that some people become rich in advance, [words indistinct] assisting poor regions and households. That is to say, we must help open up more channels for developing production and increasing income. Consideration must be given to the households that are enjoying the five guarantees, army dependents and the families of revolutionary martyrs, so that their living standards will be in line with the improvement of the average living standards.

We must continue to combine the initiative of various aspects, open up more channels for capital resources and actively carry out housing construction in cities and towns. Housing space must follow the design standard for the homes of the staff members and workers in the province. Distribution must be carried out rationally, while unhealthy practices must be resolutely opposed. Such problems as water supply in cities and towns, transportation, commercial network and points, and gas supply in key cities, must be resolved in a planned way. Leadership must be strengthened over urban construction, plans must be defined well, management must be carried out strictly and the long-existing situation in which construction is carried out blindly must be changed. Every inch of land must be treasured and utilized rationally, as is the policy of our country. In rural areas, the replacement of single-storied buildings with multi-storied buildings must be encouraged, and such matters as occupying cultivated land at will and wasting land must be resolutely opposed and corrected. In the next few years efforts must be made not to occupy cultivated land in building houses.

2. The Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization

The 12th Party Congress pointed out that while efforts are being made to build highly material civilization it is also imperative to build highly socialist spiritual civilization; this is a strategic principle in the building of socialism. Our province is the southern gate of the country and a gateway to foreign countries, and therefore it is particularly important for us to

step up the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Some people have said that since we have carried out special policies and opened our doors to outside world, it is only natural that our spiritual civilization is relatively lagging behind. Such view is wrong. The wider we open the door to outside world and the more our economy is activated, the more prosperous will our culture become and the more improved will be the spiritual outlook of the people. We must have not only modern technology and management, but our cities and towns must also be clean and we must have good social habits characterized by good social order and civilization.

The 12th Party Congress pointed out that the building of socialist spiritual civilization includes the two aspects of ideological building and cultural building. And our goal is to spare no effort to further develop the educational and scientific undertakings of our province, make culture and art prosper even more and make social practice even more healthy so that more and more young people will become laborers who have ideals, morality and culture and who abide by laws. According to the specific conditions of our province, we must do a good job in the following four aspects.

(A) /Step up in a big way the propaganda and education in socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as the core./

In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that it is necessary to demand that party members, CYL members and all other advanced elements have communist ideology and to educate and influence the masses of people through them. In the process of building spiritual civilization, we must constantly rely on this important guiding ideology. Party members must believe in communism and must be willing to fight for the rest of their lives for the sake of communism. We advocate the cherishing of ideals, and the highest ideal is to realize communism; we advocate morality, and the highest morality is communist morality. Only when we are able to disseminate communist ideology in a big way will we be able to guard against the corruption of bourgeois decadent ideology and maintain the proletarian purity of the party organization. In order to create a new situation in socialist construction, it is imperative to uphold the communist spirit in a big way. In carrying out reforms and creative work, we will no doubt meet various difficulties and obstacles, and even run certain risks. Therefore, without the communist spirit characterized by willingness to work hard and not be upset by criticism, it is impossible to create a new situation.

In order to foster communist ideology, it is necessary to educate cadres and the broad masses of people in a basic knowledge of dialectical and historical materialism. Dialectical and historical materialism represent the world outlook of the proletariat and its political party. Only when people are able to grasp this world outlook will they be able to firmly foster the communist belief from the point of view of historical necessity, correctly understand and firmly implement the party line, principles and policies in the present stage, avoid the serious mistakes of the various forms of idealism and metaphysics that appeared during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and resist the corruption of

decadent bourgeois ideology and the ideology of various exploiting classes. Therefore, it is imperative to organize party members and cadres to study materialism and dialectics and understand the historical development of society and party history. In short, it is imperative to carry out education on the basis of Marxism and carry out this work in a down-to-earth way.

In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "At the present stage, whether in economic life or in social life, it is imperative for us to uphold the system of distribution according to labor and various other socialist systems." The launching of the education in communist ideology must be unified with the implementation of the party's various socialist policies. It is only when we are able to conscientiously implement the party's various policies of the present stage that we will be able to realize the socialist modernization program and finally make the transition to communism. When we are disseminating communist ideology, it is also necessary to oppose egalitarianism. Cadres and the masses of people must be educated to understand that egalitarianism and "all eating from the same big pot" are not communism, on the contrary, they are opposed to communism. Therefore, the principle of distribution according to labor must in no way be restricted and criticized; it must be resolutely implemented.

(B) /Continue to carry out in a deep way the activities of "five stresses, four beauties and three loves."/

The activities of "five stresses, four beauties and three loves" are created by the masses to reform society and change social habits, and they represent a good form for studying communism, fostering good morality and building socialist spiritual civilization. Practice by various places in the province have proved that the launching of the activities to overcome "dirt, chaos and backwardness" and the activities of the five stresses, four beauties and three loves" with civilization and courtesy as the main are welcomed by the masses and considerable achievements have been made. In future, it is necessary to further launch the activities for creating civilized units, factories, shops, schools, villages, streets and families, pay attention to popularizing the experiences in this respect and organize and lead well such activities so that they will be upheld and become a habit. The masses of the people must be mobilized and we must also use laws and regulations and public opinion to wage a resolute struggle against deeds which violate public morality, order and health.

(C) /Continue with the struggles against the corruption of decadent capitalist ideology./

Due to the geographical and historical conditions of our province, our tasks in this aspect are particularly heavy. We must really understand this situation and we must in no way relax our vigilance. We must continue to carry out, among cadres and the masses of people, education in socialism, collectivism and patriotism and against corruption. This education must be centered on party members and cadres so as to enable, through them, to lead the masses of people in conscientiously resisting the influence of decadent capitalist ideology and

capitalist life style. At the same time, it is also necessary to continue to take strict measures to crack down on and ban the smuggling and spreading of reactionary and obscene books and magazines and the duplicated products of audio and video recorders, and all criminal activities damaging the socialist spiritual civilization, such as luring women to become prostitutes, and gambling. The management over cultural facilities and activities must be strengthened so as to close all loopholes. The related policies must be correctly followed in waging struggles against corruption. But what we oppose is only the garbage of the capitalist decadent and reactionary culture, not all foreign culture. Cultural exchange is a necessary condition for any nation to make social progress. We must resolutely oppose corruption but at the same time properly carry out exchanges of science and culture with foreign countries. We must be active in learning from advanced technology and achievements of fine culture of other countries. Our requirement is to "get rid of things decadent, not to get rid of all things foreign."

(D) /Step up the building of culture./

The building of culture includes the development of various cultural undertakings such as education, science, literature, art, news, publication, broadcast, TV programs, hygiene, sports, libraries and museums and the improvement in the level of knowledge of the broad masses of people. The building of culture is a very important condition both for the development of economy and the improvement of people's ideological consciousness and morality. Lenin said: "Only when all the knowledge created by mankind is used to enrich their brains do people become communists." To train socialist new people who have ideals, morality and culture and who abide by laws is impossible unless the building of culture is strengthened.

The development of education and science is a strategic key in economic construction and an important task in building culture, and therefore this work must be done well. Medical health is an important undertaking that is related to the health of the people and the prosperity of the nation. We must launch the patriotic public health campaign in a broader and deeper way and improve hygiene and health in rural and urban areas. At the same time, we must also step up the building of hospitals and various medical organizations and solve the problems concerning medical service and medicines among the masses of people. To launch sports activities is not only in the interest of improving people's physical condition but also in the interest of fostering communist ideology. On the basis of the achievements we have made, it is necessary for us to further strengthen the building of the ranks of sports people as well as sports facilities. Effort must be made to improve the skills and sportsmanship of our sports people so as to make still greater achievements and win greater honor.

We must develop in a big way such undertakings as literature, art, news, publication, broadcasting, TV programs, libraries and museums. The most important condition to guarantee the prosperity of the undertakings is correct policies. We must be resolute in continuing the implementation of the principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and continue to study and implement the spirit of the important speech made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in the National Cultural Congress. Cultural building in our province does not mean merely that we are shouldering the various tasks of resisting the corruption of the decadent capitalist influence to win over the

masses and particularly to win over youths and teenagers. Our literature, art, news, libraries, broadcasting and TV programs must also be rich in content and popular among the masses. As we advocate in a big way that the contents of literary and art works must be able to reflect reality and have revolutionary contents, those useful and harmless, interesting and recreational works and programs with a certain level of knowledge must also be allowed under the premise that they do not violate the four basic principles, communist morality and patriotism so that the masses will have a rich variety of spiritual nourishment. Party organizations must strengthen their leadership over these aspects and pay attention to displaying the initiative and creativity of literary and art workers and those who are engaged in propaganda. These various aspects must be given financial and material support. The popularization of putonghua has been included in the constitution. Our province is one of the important dialect regions and therefore we must consider the popularization of putonghua as an important aspect in building culture and pay further attention to and grasp well this work.

It is the common task of all areas to build socialist spiritual civilization. Party committees at all levels and various departments must include this work in their agenda and this work must be subject to frequent supervision and checking, and the related experiences must be summed up. In building spiritual civilization it is necessary to fully display the roles of workers, youths and women and various mass organizations such as scientific, social, cultural and all grassroots organizations. In order to build spiritual civilization, it is necessary for party members and particularly leading cadres at various levels to take the lead and set examples through their own deeds.

3. The Building of Socialist Democracy and the Socialist Legal System

In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "The building of socialist material and spiritual civilization relies for its guarantee and support on the continuous development of socialist democracy." Here, socialist material civilization, socialist spiritual civilization and socialist democracy condition each other and are each indispensable. The general tasks of the party under the new historical period are to realize the modernization program and build the country into a powerful socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy. Therefore, to realize a high degree of democracy is not only an important condition for building a modern socialist country but also our basic goal and basic tasks.

(A) /To build a high degree of socialist democracy, it is first of all necessary to carry out education in socialist democracy among the broad masses of party members and particularly leading cadres./ Party organizations at all levels must mobilize and organize party members and cadres to conscientiously study the report to the 12th Party Congress and the part of the party constitution dealing with socialist democracy and the party's system of democratic centralism, conscientiously study the constitution approved by the 5th Plenary Session of the 5th NPC and restudy the important speech made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee about emancipating thinking, seeking truth from facts and unity and progress. In his speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping analyzed the historical experiences since the founding of the PRC and particularly since the "Great Cultural Revolution" and profoundly expounded the important significance of displaying democracy in the realization of the

socialist modernization program. He said that there would be no hope for the modernization program unless the thinking of cadres and the masses of people were emancipated in a big way, and that democracy is an important condition for emancipating thinking while the strengthening of legal system is guarantee for democracy. We must study this speech time and again.

(B) /To perfect the system of democratic centralism within the party is a key to building a high degree of socialist democracy./

Historical experience proves that whether democratic life within the party is normal or not will naturally be reflected in the whole democratic life of society. Within the party, we must oppose decentralization and liberalism and step up organizational and disciplinary education among various party organizations and party members; at the same time, we must also oppose undemocratic behavior such as "one person alone has the say" and arbitrariness. Party organizations at all levels must follow the rules of the party constitution and regularly hold party congresses and conferences for party members. Party committees must strengthen collective leadership and the decisions on major issues must be made only after collective discussion. The policies and major issues that are related to various regions and departments can only be decided after the opinions of the regions and departments concerned and experts are solicited so as to prevent subjectivism and lopsidedness. This is not only a matter of working method, it is a democratic style of work. Party committees at and above prefectural level must conscientiously implement the system of leading groups having democratic discussions twice each year. Leading comrades at various levels must consciously accept the supervision of the masses and their opinions, and they must be willing to accept the criticism of the masses with the attitude of being "happy to listen." No retaliation whatsoever is allowed against critics.

(C) /Socialist democracy must be expanded to political life, economic life, cultural life and all the various aspects of social life so that the broad masses of the people will be able to enjoy their rights as masters of the country./

The basic way to attain this purpose is to strictly follow the rules and regulations defined by the constitution, strengthen the system of people's congresses and fully display the roles of the congresses at all levels as organs of power. Party committees at all levels must support the work of people's congresses. All the issues that must be approved by people's congresses or their standing committees must be approved by them. Party organizations must educate party members, cadres and the masses of people to constantly implement all the decisions made by the people's congresses and their standing committees. At the same time, attention must be paid to enabling people's political consultative conferences to consult over state policies and principles and the major issues concerning the life of the people so as to make suggestions and criticisms and display their roles of carrying out democratic supervision.

The democratic system must be further set up and perfected in all grassroots organizations and the spirit of socialist democracy must be upheld in a big way. Factories, enterprises, shops, schools and grassroots units in rural areas must gradually carry out democratic management according to regulations. Neighborhood

committees must be set up and perfected in rural and urban areas and the broad masses of the people must be mobilized to define their own rules and regulations so that the masses will be able to manage by themselves the social life at grassroots levels.

(D) /The building of socialist democracy must be closely combined with the building of the socialist legal system so as to create systematized and legalized democracy./

Historical experiences have proved that socialist democracy will be guaranteed only when we have strengthened the socialist legal system. Leading comrades from the CPC Central Committee pointed out that in order to guarantee people's democracy, it is imperative to strengthen the legal system, systematize and legalize the democratic system so that if there were changes in leading members, the system and laws and regulations will remain unchanged and that they will not be changed by changes in viewpoints and stresses of leading members. Party committees and leading cadres at all levels must respect and abide by laws and regulations, nor can laws and regulations be replaced by opinions of leading members.

It is only when we have strengthened the socialist legal system that the freedoms and democratic rights of citizens will be guaranteed. Under the situation during the "Great Cultural Revolution" in which innocent people were subject to slander and persecution and personal rights were not guaranteed, it was not possible to display democracy. Therefore, it is imperative to strengthen the work of protecting the rights of citizens. It is also necessary through education to enable the broad masses of the citizens to realize the difference between normal democracy and extreme democracy so that in exercising their right of freedom and democracy, they will not infringe upon the interests of the state, society and collective and the rights to freedom and democracy of other people.

It is only when we have strengthened the socialist legal system that we will be able to hit hard at the antiparty and antisocialist "democracy" and crack down on enemy agents and various counterrevolutionary elements and various criminal activities which endanger society, so as to guarantee that the building of socialist democracy will be carried out smoothly.

The basic requirement in building the socialist legal system is to set up laws and regulations that must be strictly implemented, and those who violate them must consequently be punished. Therefore, according to this requirement, it is first of all imperative to "have laws and regulations." Therefore, in addition to implementing unified state laws and regulations, it is necessary to strengthen legal work in localities and particularly to grasp well legal work in the economic sector. It is necessary on the basis of study and investigations to define certain laws and regulations when conditions are ripe so as to meet the needs of the modernization program.

Following the setting up of the legal system, all work must be carried out according to it. And through education in the legal system, some party members, including those responsible cadres who do not study and do not understand laws and regulations and whose concept of the law is poor, must be helped to

understand laws and regulations. Legal knowledge must be popularized among the broad masses of people and particularly among youths. Legal education must be introduced in universities and primary and secondary schools. Party organizations and party members at all levels must constantly study and implement the important principle of the party constitution that "the party must carry out activities within the scope of the constitution and the legal system" and they must set an example in abiding by laws and regulations. Party committees must support procuratorates and courts of justice in carrying out their investigations and judgments.

In strengthening socialist legal system, party committees must strengthen their leadership over political and legal work, constantly carry out the work of building up the political and legal system and the ranks of political and legal workers. They must spare no effort to build up a rank of political and legal workers which is particularly pure, good in style of work and professional. Certain investments are needed in political and legal departments and it is necessary to import and add the necessary advanced equipment.

(E) /To correctly understand and handle the question of class struggle is of great significance to the building of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system./

We must understand that most of the contradictions in our society today do not have the nature of class struggle. Class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society. In past political movements there appeared the mistakes of broadening the scope of struggle. As a result, certain aspects of socialist democracy were damaged. Such mistakes were directly related to our failure to judge the situation of class struggle and our exaggeration of the enemy situation. We must learn from historical experiences and lessons, strictly differentiate between and correctly handle the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves on the one hand and the contradictions among the people on the other, so as to avoid making the same mistakes again by broadening the scope of struggle. The problems left over by the past must be resolved well and the related policies must be implemented conscientiously. But at the same time, we must understand that class struggle still exists, it will continue to exist for a long time to come in our society within a certain range, and that under certain conditions this struggle will become more acute. Therefore, we can in no way relax our vigilance against dictatorship over the few antagonistic elements. Due to geographical and other reasons, Guangdong Province is the first to be affected by the penetration and sabotages of enemy agents. Smuggling and other criminal activities in our province are very serious and there are a number of problems in social security. We must be clearly aware of the class struggle and its features under new situations and of the special position of our province. Party committees at all levels must regularly educate party members, cadres and the masses of people in the enemy situation, in keeping secrets and in fighting against corruption. At the same time, the struggle against antagonistic elements in all sectors must be strengthened and measures must be taken to hit hard and promptly at sabotage activities of enemy agents, counterrevolutionaries and other criminals. We

must obey the requirements of the CPC Central Committee, continue to strengthen the work of rectifying social security and do a good job of comprehensive security so that our social order will be basically improved in 5 years. Now, the methods of conducting class struggle and cracking down on antagonistic elements are very different from those in the past. That is to say, we no longer resort to political movements but to society's legal system, laws and regulations. In this way, we are able to hit hard at the enemy correctly and at the same time to protect people's democratic rights; this practice is in the interest of carrying out the socialist modernization program smoothly.

Party committees at various levels must be concerned with and support the revolutionization, modernization and regularization of the army, further do a good job of the "three implementations" in militia work and strengthen coastal and border defense. The unity between the army and the government and the army and the people must be further strengthened and the cooperation between the army and the people in construction and defending the southern gate of the country must also be further strengthened.

(F) /Continue to hit hard at serious criminal activities in the economic sector./

It is a protracted struggle to hit hard at the criminal activities which undermine socialism in the economic and other sectors. We must be resolute in carrying out this struggle to the end. Party committees at various levels must pay special attention to this question and leading comrades must personally grasp this work themselves. During the next period, both leadership and the strength in handling cases must be strengthened and can in no way be weakened. All major cases that have been registered must be investigated and handled as soon as possible, and new and major cases must be registered promptly, investigated and handled. We must constantly sum up previous experiences so as to improve our skills in the struggle and the standard of handling cases. The cracking down on serious criminal activities in the economic sector must be combined with education in fighting against corruption, and it must be coupled with setting up and perfecting rules and regulations and strengthening the legal system and management so that we will be able to really solve these problems.

4. Party Building

The 12th Party Congress put forth the task that in the next 5 years, efforts, must be made to basically improve the party's style of work. In order to meet this task, we must step up party building. Based on the situation of the party organizations in our province, it is particularly important to solve the following questions.

(A) /Organize party members across the province to study the party constitution in a deep way, step up party education and further improve party quality and the combat effectiveness of party organizations./

It is the basic task of party building to generally strengthen education among party members. The party constitution approved by the 12th Party Congress constitutes important material for educating party members.

The constitution must be studied in an overall way, while each sector and chapter have also to be studied. On the basis of overall study, it is necessary to grasp well the following five key points. The first comprises the nature of the party, guiding ideology and the general tasks in the present stage, and the three basic requirements that are expounded in the general program of the constitution; second, the eight obligations of party members and the six basic conditions for cadres at various levels; third, the six basic principles of the party system of democratic centralism; fourth, the eight basic tasks of party organizations at grassroots levels; and, fifth, party discipline. In studying and implementing the constitution, it is also necessary to study and implement the "certain basic principles concerning inner-party political life."

It is also necessary to combine the study of the constitution with checking the ideology of party members themselves and with the education of party members in implementing the party line, principles and policies and the completion of party tasks so as to strengthen the party spirit of party members and enable them to set examples still better.

To mobilize party members to study and implement the party constitution constitutes a general education movement among party members. Various forms of study may be introduced in carrying out this education such as regular party courses, training party members in rotation, discussions during party organizational activities, checking and evaluating the work of party branches according to the constitution, and selecting fine party members according to the constitution. All places must proceed from their own specific conditions and carry out various forms of education among party members.

(B) /Spare no effort to make leading groups at all levels younger, more revolutionary, better educated, and more professional, and work hard to strengthen the education and training of cadres./

In order to build a rank of cadres who are revolutionary, young, well-educated and professional, it is first of all necessary to build leading groups with these features. This is a very important and urgent task in party building in our province. Taken as a whole, the leading groups of various levels in our province have been active in implementing the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and they are combat effective. But in general, the members of these groups are characterized by relatively old age, low cultural level and little knowledge or specialization. This situation is increasingly in contradiction with the new situation, new tasks and new subjects of the modernization program.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have done enormous work in improving the leading groups at various levels and we have made definite achievements. In the past 4 years, more than 300 middle-aged and young cadres across the province have been promoted to deputy secretaries of prefectural party committees and higher posts. A number of old comrades have given prominence to the cause of the party, considered the whole situation

and withdrawal from the front line so as to enable young people shoulder heavy tasks. More than 2,000 old comrades have taken advisory posts or retired. However, taken as a whole, our work of selecting middle-aged and young cadres has developed slowly. Following natural growth of age, with the exception of few units, the present average age of the members of leading groups at various levels is 4 to 6 years older than they were in 1978, while there have been no great changes in their knowledge and specialization.

We leading comrades in party committees at all levels must also study the speeches made by leading comrades in the CPC Central Committee about selecting successors so as to raise our understanding of the far-reaching and historical significance and urgent and practical significance of selecting a great number of middle-aged and young cadres and realizing the replacement and cooperation of new and old cadres. Old comrades must consider the selection and training of successors as their own primary and solemn obligation and promptly introduce and support young cadres to leading positions.

It is necessary to boldly promote young cadres in their tens of thousands without demanding perfection from them, but on the other hand it is also necessary to stress the importance of selecting good cadres and to stress quality.

What kind of persons cannot be selected? Comrade Chen Yun said: "Those of the three kinds of person who followed Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and their ilk during the 'Great Cultural Revolution' and came to power through rebelling, have serious factional thinking and those who engaged in beating, smashing and looting can in no way be promoted; those who have been promoted must be resolutely cleared out of leading groups." "In addition to the 'three kinds of person,' there are another two kinds of person that cannot be promoted and they include those who have opposed the line of the CPC Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session and those who have seriously violated the laws and regulations in economic and other sectors." The criteria and methods for handling these "three kinds of person" must follow the related directives of the CPC Central Committee.

What kind of young cadres can be selected? Taken as a whole, those who have good morals, are professional and accord with the six conditions defined by the party constitution can be selected. According to the requirement of the CPC Central Committee that our province must go a step in advance in carrying out the modernization program, we must particularly pay attention to the following advantages of young cadres in selecting them. First, loyally protecting the line, principles and policies of the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Second, having the enthusiasm and ability to create new situations, receive new knowledge and new things and have their own creative opinions in their work, being capable and having made achievements. Third, having a high level of culture and knowledge. Their education, practical abilities and talent must also be considered. Fourth, having strong party spirit and a good style of work and abiding by discipline.

Party committee at various levels must pay attention to knowledge, talented people and intellectuals and they must study and implement party policies on intellectuals. The long-existing wrong concept of discriminating against and

despising intellectuals must be eradicated and such thinking must be resolutely changed. We must understand that without intellectuals there is no way of realizing the modernization program. Party committees and leading cadres at all levels must trust intellectuals politically. They must rely on intellectuals in their work, must be concerned with their life and must help them solve their difficulties. In particular, they must respect and protect experts. We must pay attention not only to intellectuals with formal education but also those who have acquired knowledge and become professionals through self-study; we can in no way disregard such talented people. Over the past few years, we have developed a number of party members among intellectuals and particularly among senior intellectuals and they have played very good roles both in politics and their work. We must sum up experience in this aspect so as to do a still better job in developing party members and selecting cadres from among intellectuals who are in line with the related conditions.

To build leading groups at various levels with members who are revolutionary, young, well-educated and professional is a principle that has to be implemented for a long period to come. Party organizations at all levels must include this important issue in their agenda, strengthen leadership and continue to do a good job in this aspect. Cadres system must be reformed conscientiously; in future, it must become a system to replace old cadres with younger ones.

The great number of old cadres who have withdrawn from the front line or retired constitute the valuable wealth of the party and state, and are beneficial to the people. We must respect them forever. As the number of retired cadres will increase, party committees and grassroots organizations at all levels must lose no time to strengthen the work of managing and serving retired cadres. The comrades who are in their posts must be concerned with such cadres. Party committees at all levels must take active measures to arrange well the political, material and culture life of retired cadres. In addition to the unified rules defined by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, the provincial party committee and government have worked out "some regulations on doing a good job with regard to retired cadres" which must be conscientiously implemented by organizations at various levels.

In order to improve cadres' cultural and specialized knowledge, it is necessary, in addition to promoting cadres from among the intellectuals with senior and higher education, to further strengthen the education and regular training of the existing cadres. Party schools at various levels must shoulder this important task. Some schools of higher learning and vocational schools must also train some cadres; various places, departments and units must make use of the existing conditions and strength to organize cadres' training courses, advanced courses and reading courses in various forms such as leaving jobs to study, part-time study and part-time jobs, and spare-time study. The cadres who are attending regular training must be subject to strict examination while the history of their education and the achievements of their study will be regarded as an important reference in employing and promoting them. Party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership over the education of cadres, pay attention to summing up experience and constantly solve such problems in cadre education as education system, teachers, teaching materials, equipment, expenditure and management so that the work of such education will be popularized and systematized.

(C) /Rectify in an overall way the party style of work and organizations and basically improve the party style of work as quickly as possible./

The 12th Party Congress declared that beginning in the second half of the next year, the party work style and party system will be subject to overall rectification in stages in a matter of 3 years. We must do a good job in all aspects so as to guarantee that the task of rectifying the party in our province will be carried out smoothly. It must be affirmed that the trend of the basic party style in our province is good. In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "The present time is one of the best historical periods since the founding of the PRC." Such political and economic situations are achieved under the leadership of the party. Such good situations would not have emerged had the basic condition of the party been bad. We all can see that for many years the democratic atmosphere and the practice of seeking truth from facts have never been so good as they are now. Party policies have won the hearts of the masses of the people and its prestige is becoming higher and higher. Party members and good cadres with strong party spirit and good work style have emerged in great numbers and they are praised and protected by the masses. This is the main trend. But as the influence of the 10 turbulent years has not been completely eliminated and because of the corruption of various types of thinking of the exploiting class under the new situation, because some party members and particularly party cadres have failed to form a correct attitude to basic changes in the position and conditions of the party that have taken place since the party became the ruling party, and because of incompetent and loose leadership of some party organizations, there exist many serious problems in party style. Some party organizations in our province are also characterized by serious problems such as impure ideology, impure style of work and impure organizations. This situation has been improved since the party rectification last winter but there are still party organizations in the province which lack combat effectiveness. The leading groups of some units have failed to achieve unity for a long period, to carry out active ideological struggle and to form themselves into strong leading cores. Some party members and cadres have serious problems in their ideology, style of work and morality and a few have even degenerated and committed crimes. Quite a number of party members are not in a position to display exemplary roles. The "three kinds of person" are still in leading positions in some units. To solve these problems, it is necessary to rely on daily work, but in addition, we must be determined to solve them through overall party rectification.

Comrade Chen Yun said: "The style of the ruling party is a question that will determine the continued existence or the extinction of this party." We must treat the party style of work and rectification from such a high stand point. Before a unified arrangement is made by the CPC Central Committee concerning overall party rectification, we must from now on make preparations in an overall way. Party committees at all levels must conscientiously carry out study and investigations and be aware of the situations of party members and organizations. The province and its regions must form working teams composed of capable cadres to experiment in rectifying the party, with great attention concentrated on how to educate party members with the party constitution as the main teaching material; how to reorganize leading groups, carry out criticism and self-criticism and correct unhealthy practice; how to correctly

implement the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient" and "clarify ideology and unite comrades," register party members and organizationally handle the party members who have made mistakes. In the process of rectifying the party, it is also necessary to rectify CYL organizations.

The key to basically improving the party style of work is that leading cadres at all levels must take the lead. Party organizations at all levels must constantly organize the study and implementation of the working report to the Second Plenary Session of the discipline inspection committee of the CPC Central Committee, grasp the most outstanding problems in rectifying the party in all regions and units and take effective measures to solve these problems as quickly as possible. Leading groups at and above prefectural level must also perfect the system of party organization activities, launch criticism and self-criticism regularly, solicit the opinions of the masses of the people and conscientiously improve shortcomings so that they will be able to solve their own problems before the rectification begins and put themselves in an active position in leading the work of party rectification. The rectifying of grassroots organizations on all fronts must be done well, and active measures must be taken to solve the existing problems and not to wait until the rectification is carried out in an overall way.

An important aspect of party building is to strengthen party work among workers, peasants and intellectuals and improve relations between the party and the masses of people. Party organizations at all levels must step up their leadership over trade unions, peasants associations, CYL organizations, women's federations, scientific associations, cultural federations and commercial federations. The province and those of its regions where the people minority nationalities are living must step up the work of nationality and further implement party nationality policies. Party committees at all levels must conscientiously re-educate party members and cadres in the theory and policies of the united front, and do a good job of promoting the cooperation between party cadres and those outside the party so as to carry out the work of the united front still better.

5. Carry Out Reforms in a Resolute and Orderly Manner

In order to step up the building of the four aspects mentioned above and do a good job of realizing the modernization program, we must take active measures and effectively carry out a series of reforms.

We must constantly study and implement the important directives made by the CPC Central Committee about the reform work and carry out reforms in the process of realizing the modernization program and in the process of carrying out work in various aspects.

We are now in a historical period of great changes. We have made important achievements in the previous reforms. But there still exist in various aspects "leftist" influence and old practices which hinder progress while people's initiative and creativity in carrying out the modernization program is still subject to the bondage of some links. Therefore, it is a natural trend to carry out further reforms in an overall way. We will be able to make progress and create new situation through reforms.

Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that reforms mean to break away from the old and create the new. That is to say, to break away from the old methods, practices and work styles which constitute barrier to our progress, create new rules and regulations and break away from the situation in which everybody is eating from the same big pot, and fully mobilize people's socialist initiative. These words of Comrade Hu Yaobang have pointed out the basic direction for us in carrying out reforms in various aspects.

Leading organs, leading systems and economic management systems must be reformed. The reforms of the various departments may differ in content, but they have something in common that must draw the attention of various departments. According to specific conditions of Guangdong Province, we must solve the following eight points in the whole process of our reforms.

(A) /Streamline organizations to solve such problems as overstaffing, wrangling, aging of cadres and low work efficiency./

This is a major reform that concerns various departments in the province, regions, municipalities and prefectures. The core issue of organizational reform is the adjustment of leading groups. We must be bold in including into leading groups at various levels cadres who are politically conscious and professional, young and healthy, have the courage to create and possess scientific and cultural knowledge. At the same time, arrangement must be made for old cadres to retire or withdraw to the second line and they must be given consideration. New leading groups must be composed of those who are revolutionary, young, well-educated and professional, and attention must be paid to selecting cadres from among intellectuals with senior middle school education and particularly college education. The reorganization of the leading groups and reforms of the provincial organs must be carried out according to this requirements: leading members of departments, committees, offices and bureaus in general must be composed of three persons, with a maximum of four persons; even under social conditions, the number cannot exceed five. Those in the first and second positions must be under 60 years old; middle-aged and young cadres of 55 years and under must make up about one-third; the majority must have a cultural level above senior secondary school education, and must make up at least one-half, of which at least 1 has college-level education, and there must be persons who understand specialized knowledge. New organizations must be coupled with a new system, with every one responsible for certain work, and the situation of buck-passing, disobeying directives and wrangling must be eliminated. In carrying out reforms, all party members and particularly leading cadres must demonstrate strong party spirit, obey the arrangements made by the organizations and stick to their posts and carry out their duty before there are changes in their work or before they are replaced.

(B)/Popularize the responsibility system and eliminate the serious shortcoming of everybody eating from the same big pot./

The economic responsibility system must be introduced not only in agriculture, but must also be actively introduced in other enterprises such as industry, transportation, capital construction and domestic and foreign trade. Practice in the previous period proved that the units that have introduced economic

responsibility system (including such forms as replacing profit by tax, responsibility for increasing profits, responsibility for profits and losses and running enterprises by relying on those enterprises) have made considerable achievements. The core of the responsibility system is "contracting" whatever the form, method or decree of the contract. The shortcomings in our economic work over the past years include everybody eating from the same big pot and with this system, it makes no difference whether one works hard or not. It is also impossible for enterprises and their staff to display their initiative; no one is concerned about economic efficiency, nor are they responsible economically. The economic responsibility system now being introduced is a remedy for curing such shortcomings. This is what is meant by the phrase 1 dose is enough [yi bao jiu ling 0001 0545 1432 7227]. The reforms of the financial and monetary system will affect the reforms of many aspects and therefore they must be carried out resolutely and meticulously. The contracting of financial responsibilities must be able to mobilize the initiative of localities and enterprises and guarantee that the current financial revenues will increase annually. The method of "replacing profit by tax" must be gradually and actively introduced in industrial and transportation enterprises; the method of tax plus profit may be introduced in the enterprises with high profit, that is to say, these enterprises hand over to higher departments the basic profit and pay standard tax. Small state-owned factories and shops at grassroots levels may introduce in stages the business form of contracting responsibility to collectives or individuals. They may also experiment with the manager (factory director) responsibility system that has been introduced in rural enterprises run by people's communes and production teams. The experience of Qingyuan must be further popularized across the province. No matter what form of responsibility system is introduced, it is necessary to unify responsibility, rights and interests. In addition to economic departments, other fronts and departments must also introduce and perfect the responsibility system coupled with the system of strict checking and awarding and punishing the situation in some departments is characterized by unclear responsibilities, awards and punishments and low efficiency, and this situation must be changed.

(C) /Hand down autonomy under leadership and further solve the problem of excessive centralization and too rigid control./

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "A serious shortcoming in the existing economic management system in our country is that power is excessively centralized and it must be handed down boldly and under leadership." Excessively centralized authority and rigid control will in turn hinder the broad masses of cadres and people from displaying their initiative and creativity, and delay many things. Over the past 2 years, we have demanded the "handing down of autonomy" and this must be further implemented. Under unified policy and planning, it is imperative that all places, departments and enterprises be entrusted with the autonomy necessary for fulfilling their tasks. The province must hand down more autonomy to Guangzhou and other cities. The planning system must be conscientiously reformed so as to create conditions for the reforms of various other sectors. Planning should not and cannot include everything and it is necessary to correctly separate mandatory planning

from guiding planning and regulation by market mechanism. Economic administration departments at all levels must hand down a large amount of business autonomy to enterprises or enterprise companies. In particular, following the introduction of the responsibility system and the system of contracting responsibilities, higher departments can no longer control and interfere with lower units arbitrarily even in minor cases. All unnecessary links in checking and approving must be abolished.

(D) /Persist in taking state economy as the main and at the same time develop the various forms of economic management of the state economy, collective economy and individual economy so as to further solve the problems of monopoly by state economy and a single channel, and further activate the economy and other causes./ All irrational old rules and regulations that have become a barrier to the development of various forms of economic management must be reformed. It is necessary to develop not only state-owned undertakings in industry, transportation, building and public utility in cities and towns but also such undertakings by collective and individuals. The collective and individuals must be allowed to undertake some dispersed commercial repairing and other services. The collective and individuals have few links and offer good service, and they are flexible; therefore with our management and guidance, such undertakings will be able to display important roles in developing the economy, activating the market and promoting the reform of state enterprises. The collective must be encouraged not only to undertake economic activities but also education, art and literature and scientific research, and individuals must also be [words indistinct]

(E) /Bridge the relations among urban and rural areas and regions and break away from regional blockades and separation between rural and urban areas./ Through reforms, constantly solve the old problems that have existed for a long time such as separating the economy according to administrative regions. We must gradually work out policies and measures for solving such blockades and insuring competition. The enterprises with good business must be allowed to set up branches in other cities and prefectures, and administration departments in all places are not permitted to forbid this. Circulation of goods, funds, labor force and people of talent must be allowed. It is permitted to sell, invest, contract for projects and export labor to other regions. No place is permitted to build its own territory. The practice of the management of counties by cities is an important way of destroying the separation between rural areas and urban areas and it will enable cities to display their roles still better. We must follow the directives of the CPC Central Committee and State Council about reforming prefectural, city and autonomous prefectural party and government organs and be resolute in doing this work well. The cities of Fushan and Shaoguan will go a step in advance and they must gain experiences in such aspects as building leading groups and streamlining organs, unified leadership by city and county and in promoting economic development in urban and rural areas. The reforms in other regions must also be carried out one after another and this work must include reforming the party and government organs in prefectures which are not amalgamated with cities into agencies worthy of the

name. The roles of many cities and particularly such a big city as Guangzhou are not limited to just leading the few prefectures under their direct leadership, they must display in wider scale their roles as economic and cultural centres. To break away from the practice of separating urban areas from rural areas and to bridge the gap between rural and urban areas must not be limited within the range of the management of a city.

(F) /Separate government from enterprises so as to solve the problem of government replacing enterprises, enterprises replacing government and interfering with economy through administrative means. Government organs must be separated from enterprise economic units./

Government administrative departments must not interfere with the economic activities of enterprises in too concrete a manner; still less should enterprise economic departments issue administrative orders in society and monopolize things. All economic departments and units that have no administrative power must be turned into enterprises or companies. Administrative departments, on the other hand, must learn to manage economy through economic methods and economic levers and they must resort to administrative methods as little as possible. In rural areas, to separate administration from people's communes is also part of the important reform of separating administration from enterprises. The province and all regions and prefectures must carry out experiment in this aspect and then popularize their experience.

(G) /Implement the principle of material interest, implement still better the principle of three considerations and solve egalitarianism./

The principle of material interest is an important Marxist principle and a reflection of objective law. The purpose of socialist production is to meet people's increasing needs in their material and cultural life. In carrying out new systems and new methods during the reforms, we must consider the interest of the state, collective and individuals so as to guarantee that the bigger interest, medium interest and smaller interest will respectively go to the state, enterprises and individuals and the masses must be able to see their own material interest. In this way, the reforms will be successful. Wages and reward must be used according to the principle of distribution according to labor. The egalitarian method of making distribution regardless of the quality of work must be resolutely opposed. Total rewards must be controlled according to quotas and the proportion between reward and contribution. Arbitrary distribution of bonuses and setting limits on the volume of bonuses to be gained from labor are prohibited. Wages must be reformed in the direction of pay corresponding with position and floating wages. Many units in special economic zones have introduced this method with good results and they must sum up their experience. Other units with certain conditions may experiment with this method.

(H) /Improve service, overcome bureaucracy, and improve the style of work in administrative and commercial sectors./

Our party and all the revolutionary ranks under its leadership are in the service of the people. Our only motto is to serve the people wholeheartedly. Our reforms must enable various fronts and departments to serve the people still

better. The new systems that are formed following the reforms must enable industrial and transportation enterprises and commerce and service trades to serve customers even better. Units involved in broadcasting, TV, literature and arts, should serve their audiences and readers even better, and their organs should better serve the grassroots levels and the masses of the people. Political and legal departments must strengthen the struggle against antagonistic elements and at the same time it is also imperative for them to pay more attention to correctly handling the contradictions among the people and to comprehensive administration, and they must be more active in doing ideological, mediation and re-education work. In short, in carrying out reforms, all fronts must spare no effort to systematically eradicate bureaucracy and they must also eradicate the conditions for the existence of bureaucracy.

The above-mentioned eight aspects are the main points for the current reforms.

The general principle defined by the CPC Central Committee for the reforms is to proceed from reality and carry out the reforms systematically, resolutely, and in an orderly and overall way. All departments have the task of reforming. Therefore, party committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership and include reform work as an important part of their agenda, coupled with regular study, discussions and checking supervision. Reform is a complicated and hard task. Therefore, we must be determined and bold in creating new situations and at the same time it is necessary to carry out work meticulously and to undertake study and investigations under leadership and step by step. At the same time, it is imperative to follow the principle of practice, summing up experience and further practice so that the reforms will be carried out successfully and not harshly. Reforms constitute a profound revolution and they will naturally be accompanied by some ideological obstacles. The influence of "leftist" ideology during and prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," conservative thinking, complacency, indolence and selfish departmentalism are all serious ideological obstacles to our reforms. Party committees at all levels must strengthen political and ideological work during the reforms and resolutely overcome these obstacles. Party members must be educated to foster the idea of daring to carry out reforms, the working class must be educated and mobilized to stand in the forefront of the reforms and the broad masses of the people must be educated to support the reforms so that under their concerted efforts, the reforms will be carried out well. Party committees at all levels must respect the creative spirit of the masses, pay attention to summing up experience, popularize new experiences and new things during the reforms and promote the various tasks and undertakings in the province still faster.

Comrades, we are now facing an excellent political and economic situation. This situation inspires us and urges us forward. We must carry out the reforms, march forward and create new situations! Let us unite even more closely around the CPC Central Committee, and lead the 60 million population across the province to strive for a still greater victory in realizing the modernization program!

CSO: 4005/669

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

JILIN PUBLIC SECURITY--Under the leadership of party committees and government, public security departments at all levels and the masses of public security policemen and cadres throughout the province have undertaken a lot of reforms in their efforts to comprehensively tackle public security problems, and they have thus remarkably improved our province's public security situation. It should be noted, however, that there is still not enough stability in public security and social order. If we do not carry out overall and systematic reforms in a resolute and orderly manner, we will not be able to create a new situation in public security work. Reforms in public security work mean vigorously improving, not passively maintaining, order. This requires us to effect necessary transformations in line with the change in the domestic political situation and to tackle problems in a comprehensive manner, with emphasis placed on preventing crimes and on educating and saving those who have taken a wrong step. With regard to methods, we should coordinate with the party's propaganda departments and the people; go deep among the masses, young people and thousands of families to do more ideological work to bridge misunderstandings; and see to it that fewer people are arrested, sentenced or subjected to reeducation through labor, that great numbers of problems are solved at grassroots levels, that crimes are reduced and that passive factors are turned into positive ones. In the meantime, we should punish promptly and sternly according to the law the small number of incorrigible criminals guilty of serious offenses. In this way, we will be able to create a new situation in public security work and blaze a new path in public security work in a socialist country. [Text] [SK200234 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 19 Mar 83]

CPPCC SESSION 11 APRIL--The 26th Standing Committee Meeting of the 4th Provincial CPPCC Committee concluded today. The meeting decided to convene the first session of the Fifth Heilongjiang Provincial CPPCC Committee in Harbin on 11 April. Through discussions, the meeting approved a report on the work of the standing committee of the Fourth Heilongjiang Provincial CPPCC Committee and decided on the namelist of the members of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee. After discussions, it advanced the namelist of the candidates for the chairman, vice chairmen, secretary general and standing committee members of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee, the namelist of the candidates for the presidium and the secretary general of the first session of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee and the namelist of candidates for members of the motions examination committee. The meeting defined the tasks and agenda of the first session of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee. [Text] [SK300501 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Mar 83]

NEW PARTY BODIES FORMED--Hefei, 31 March (XINHUA)--The formation of the leading body of Anhui Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China was announced today with 49-year-old Huang Huang as its secretary and other five as deputy secretaries. Before promoted to the provincial leadership, Huang Huang served as secretary of Huoqiu County where he led the people to transform the backwardness and poverty in a short time. The average age of the 9 standing committee members is 56.2 years, 7.4 years less than before. Eight of them received secondary or higher education. Up to now, the Central Committee of the Communist Party have approved 25 new party committees at provincial level. They are: Guangdong, Sichuan, Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, Yunnan, Shanxi, Henan, Shandong, Gansu, Guangxi, Guizhou, Heilongjiang, Hubei, Fujian, Jiangxi, Hebei, Liaoning, Hunan, Zhejiang, Ningxia, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Tibet and Anhui. The average age of all the new committee members has dropped and the promotion of middle-aged intellectuals increased. [Text] [OW311439 Beijing XINHUA in English 1239 GMT 31 Mar 83]

CSO: 4000/97

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION AMONG MINORITY NATIONALITIES STRESSED

Beijing ZHONGYANG MINZU XUEYUAN XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF CENTRAL NATIONALITIES COLLEGE] in Chinese No 3, 15 Aug 82 pp 9-12

[Article by Jin Langbai [6855 3186 410]: "Conscientiously Shift the Emphasis in Nationality Work to Economic Construction"]

[Editor's note] This article is a summary of a speech given by Comrade Jin Langbai, director of the commission of nationalities of Heilongjiang Province, at the conference on nationality work in Nenjiang Prefecture last December.

[Text] When Comrade Hu Yaobang received the person in charge of the nationwide minority nationality visiting group on 4 Oct 1981 he indicated that "The key to doing a good job in nationality work is economic. We cannot begin to talk about culture and education if the economy is not improved." "Essentially we must suit measures to local conditions and do our best in production." He also stressed, "The Party Central Committee is concerned about minority nationalities and the foremost concern is to improve their economy. You comrades who engage in nationality work must first foster a production and economic viewpoint. This is most important." "Deviation from this viewpoint means putting the cart before the horse." Comrade Hu Yaobang's suggestion to foster the viewpoint that production comes first in nationality work is entirely in accord with the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint that material is the first nature. This viewpoint is also in accord with Mao Zedong Thought. As early as 1963 in Comrade Mao Zedong's six-point directive on the work in Xinjiang, the substance of the first point is that "We must do our economic work well." He also pointed out: "From year to year, agriculture, animal husbandry and industry must develop, the economy must be more prosperous and life among the people must improve." This directive of Chairman Mao not only deals with Xinjiang but also other nationality areas throughout the country and is significant as a general guide.

Are we not talking about maintaining political unanimity with the Party Central Committee? We must give priority to economic development in order to maintain unanimity. To implement Comrade Hu Yaobang's instructions and to increase production in our minority nationality areas in Heilongjiang, we must proceed from the overall situation and the party's policies and foster the correct guiding ideology. We must grasp the following points on the basis of our experience:

(1) We must firmly advance toward the goal of a comparatively well-off society between now and the end of this century. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said when he received friends from Hong Kong on the eve of National Day in 1981: What is our goal in developing the economy? The first step is to achieve a comparatively well-off society by reaching an average per capita GNP of US US\$800 to US\$1,000. At present it is at US \$252. By doubling it once every 10 years it will become US\$1,000 in 20 years, which will make ours a comfortable society and make life better. To realize Vice Chairman Deng's demand we must stress economic work among minority nationalities and realize the goal of striving for US\$1,000 soon.

(2) We must persevere in combining long-term and same-year interests and have both long-term planning and specific short-term arrangement. Our general goal is to enable minority nationalities to enter a comfortable society together with the Han nationality. The commune production teams of all minority nationalities should study specifically what projects they should undertake in accordance with this goal, think of ways to create wealth and formulate feasible production plans. The general demand is to build an economic foundation that will develop steadily. It must be firm and able to move forward, and we must vigorously maintain and expand it in order to transform poverty into wealth and making wealth grow. We must be broad-minded and realistic in our pace and we must not be satisfied with the way things are. We must stress livestock breeding in the short run and forestry in the long run, which are the two mainstays of agriculture. Livestock breeding is the "guaranteed high-yielding crop," the milch cow is the "money tree," and forestry is a "material bank" and "green reservoir." But unfortunately this has not been understood by everyone. We must stress quantity production items and dare to strive for large increases in production and income.

(3) We must proceed from reality, develop what is useful and avoid what is not, and give play to favorable conditions. We must take full advantage of the favorable resources due to the proximity of minority nationalities to forests, mountains, rivers and pastures, make deep and broad advances in production and transform the passive state of "asking for food with a golden bowl."

(4) We must persevere in the principle of combining self-reliance and state aid. Commune production teams of minority nationalities have a poor base. They lack human, material and financial strength and need assistance from the state. At the same time, from the standpoint of minority nationalities, all the more they should carry forward the revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle and self-reliance. A commune member of the Oroqen nationality put it well: "A fine horse can aspire to go a thousand li because it frequently exercises its hoofs." "We Oroqen nationality must develop aspirations and cannot live on state subsidy." This is well said. For a nationality, adopting the policy of "undertaking everything" and "support" is possible for a certain historical period. If we still adopt this policy today and do not teach them to rely on their own efforts and to work hard for the prosperity of the country and do not organize them to develop production, we will not be showing concern but entrapping this nationality. A nationality that does not learn to walk on its own feet will not develop.

(5) We must uphold the principle of the great unity of nationalities. Many commune production teams are composed of different nationalities. In order to move the economy of the nationalities forward we must improve relations among nationalities, strengthen their unity and enable them to trust each other, learn from each other and help each other. We must strengthen the education on the unity of nationalities and understand that the relationship between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities is their mutual dependence. This is a relationship of interdependence and mutual help in which one cannot do without the other. We must oppose all words and deeds that destroy unity among nationalities regardless where they come from.

Every production unit must have a clear production principle in order to organize and direct production with planning. The correctness of the principle greatly affects economic results in production. If the principle is correct, one can get twice the result with half the effort and achieve tangible results. If it is incorrect, production might become stagnant and even get damaged. Of course, even with a correct principle, empty talks without solid work may also cause poverty. Looking back at the 32 years of history of production by commune teams among minority nationalities since the founding of the state, the production of some teams has experienced prolonged periods of fluctuation and a poor and backward state. Other than the interference and damage caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the effects of "leftist" errors, there is also the problem of incorrect principle. By ignoring actual conditions, stressing "grain as the key link" for all and imposing arbitrary uniformity, production teams were ultimately impoverished.

To determine the correct principle of production we must proceed from reality, suit measures to the nationalities and local conditions, and conduct our work according to natural and economic laws. Depending on suitability, production should be in agriculture, forestry, livestock-breeding, side-line occupations, fishery and hunting accordingly. We must consider the state of our resources, production customs and characteristics of the nationalities. We must know market information well, clear circulation channels and satisfy social needs. In short, we must engage in one main trade, economic diversification and overall development.

Take the example of the Oroqen nationality which lives in the Da Hing'an Ling. In the 1950's it engaged primarily in hunting, and at that time animals were plentiful and hunters had good income and their lives were prosperous. It should be mentioned that the production principle at that time was in accord with the objective reality. Later, it engaged primarily in agriculture and the state invested money for them to purchase tractors for mechanized farming. For over 20 years of land reclamation and cultivation, every year resulted in a loss in farming, in poverty and debts, and everything went contrary to wishes. Practice has proved that this principle of production does not work. Will it work if once again it engages primarily in hunting? It will not. This is because along with the opening up of forests in Da Hing'an Ling the hunting area has decreased in size and animals have been reduced in number. Based on the proximity of the Oroqen nationality in Shibazhan and Beiyinna to mountains and forests, the prefectural party committee of Da Hing'an Ling has put forward the production principle of engaging primarily in forestry

and combining forestry, agriculture, livestock breeding, sideline occupations and hunting, which has summarized historical experience and understood the inevitable proposals. We agree with this principle.

The Monggol, Daur, Ewenki and Kirgiz nationalities generally live near grasslands and rivers where there are favorable conditions for grazing and the custom of raising cattle and sheep. As always, to the Monggol nationality "wealth is having cattle" and "poverty is having no cattle." They should adopt the policy of livestock breeding as the main trade and combine livestock breeding, agriculture, forestry, sideline occupations and fishing. From 1979, the Dorbod Monggolzu Autonomous County began to revise their principle of production to "engage primarily in livestock breeding, combine agriculture, forestry, livestock breeding and sideline occupations, suit measures to local conditions and develop comprehensively." They have also concretely summed up this principle as: livestock breeding mainly in cattle and sheep; farming mainly in grain and oil; a diversified economy based mainly on forestry and fishing; and local nationality industry based mainly on feather and milk. The result from practice shows that this principle is correct.

The Chaoxian nationality is good at growing rice. After the price of rice is raised, income will increase if the sources of water is sufficient and output is high. But in case of natural disasters such as drought, low temperature and early frost, production will decrease, there will be great fluctuations and the economy and income will become very unstable. If we do not overcome the single-product economy of an "overriding special skill," not only will we have to forget about entering a comfortable society but in a few years it may even lag behind other nationalities. That is why the Chaoxian nationality should follow the production principle of engaging primarily in agriculture, diversifying the economy and conscientiously changing the practice of growing rice alone.

The Hui nationality knows how to raise cattle and sheep and only in recent years have they learned to cultivate land. Thus the Hui production team can adopt the principle of engaging primarily in agriculture and simultaneously developing farming, livestock breeding and forestry. In farming itself they should grow economic crops.

The three production teams of the Hezhen nationality which live in compact communities throughout the province are all close to rivers. They can engage primarily in fishing and combine fishing, farming, forestry and sideline occupations. They must combine raising and catching fish. At present the emphasis is on catching fish but gradually it should make a transition to raising them.

Since the conditions of the various nationalities are different and conditions within the same nationality are not entirely similar, a uniform production principle should not be imposed. We should allow local conditions to vary, permit differences to exist, and should not impose arbitrary uniformity.

Most production teams of minority nationalities in our province have a relatively low level of productive forces, and their national characteristics, geographical and economic conditions are very complex. We must therefore

adopt a policy that is more flexible and dynamic than the Han nationality area. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang said in Xizang, our policy must be relaxed again and again.

Under the policy of remission, in reducing the agricultural tax and the state purchase quota for grain and in readjusting the shipping points for grain and livestock production of impoverished production teams among minority nationalities, they should request the county people's government for approval to extend remission for 2 to 3 years in accordance with the spirit of related instructions of the provincial party committee. Production teams that are qualified but have not applied for remission should do so.

If enterprises run by impoverished production teams of minority nationalities have difficulties even after the period of exemption from the industrial and commercial tax, with the exception of the production of high tax items such as tobacco, alcoholic beverages and cotton yarn, they can be tax-exempted for an extended period of time with the approval of the county people's government.

In the area of funding, in order to speed up the development of economic and cultural undertaking in minority nationality areas, when we propose plans and when financial departments distribute basic construction subsidy for frontier nationality areas, subsidy for frontier construction and investment funds for impoverished production teams, we must allocate more funds to production teams of minority nationalities as far as possible. In extending credits for agriculture and livestock breeding and distributing relief funds, we propose that all concerned departments give preferential treatment to impoverished production teams of minority nationalities so that minority nationalities may obtain real benefits.

In the utilization of forest resources, related documents of the provincial party committee stipulate: state-run and local tree farms must obtain the approval of higher authorities to set aside an appropriate portion of secondary forests for production teams to manage collectively or jointly, with income going to the collective or dividing up accordingly. All localities must take the initiative to keep in contact with the departments in charge of forestry and strive for speedy implementation. To mobilize the enthusiasm for collective and individual afforestation we must safeguard forestry rights and enable production teams and individuals to benefit from their own work. For commune members who owe relatively more debts, we can set aside certain areas where conditions are favorable for poverty-support forests so that they may reap their debts according to the types of trees and survival rates. For commune members who have no debts we must vigorously create wealth-bringing forests.

In developing household sideline occupations among commune members, we must suit measures to local conditions and the conditions of the nationalities, implement the policy of private plots, private livestock, forage land and private hills, give active assistance, vigorously develop family sideline and handicraft trades among commune members, expand the realm of production, develop diverse and proper ways to create wealth and help minority nationalities to gain wealth rapidly.

We must rely on management to increase production in minority nationality areas. What do we stress in management? Based on our investigation the policy formulated by the central authorities is good and suits the wishes of the people. One important thing is to do our best in the system of production responsibility. The system of production responsibility currently in effect in our province is diverse in form. In places where total or specialized production of certain items are prominent, the system of job responsibility of specialized contract linking planned output with remuneration has been gradually established. Places where the level of mechanization is relatively high have actively promoted the system of job responsibility of agricultural mechanized teams linking planned output with remuneration. Most commune production teams carry out unified management and the system of job responsibility linking production to labor (the group). Some "three reliances" production teams have also adopted the "unified" job responsibility systems of fixing farm output quotas and of contracts for individual households.

According to our investigation and practice in various localities, in carrying out the system of production responsibility we must not only liberate our mind but also relax our policies and not only benefit the collective but also the individual. Contracts are not devisive and the unified system does not stifle. But in actual implementation I believe that we should pay attention to these five principles regardless of the type of job responsibility system we carry out: (1) we must increase production income; (2) we must adhere to the socialist course, the "three no changes" (no change in implementing the system of job responsibility in agricultural production, no change in the diversified system of job responsibility, no change in the system of public ownership of the basic means of production) and the "three unified" (unified planning for growing crops, unified accounting and distribution, unified allocation of the means of production); (3) we cannot weaken the foundation of the collective economy; (4) we must uphold the principle of giving consideration to the interests of the state, collective and individual; and (5) we cannot exploit through the hiring of labor. With these five principles we should adopt whatever job responsibility system that can speedily develop production.

Judging from the actual conditions at present, most of the minority nationality areas are poor, have a poor foundation, owe a lot of debts and are short of food and clothing. Even where food and clothing are safeguarded, they are not rich and will not be able to weather any storm. Although minority nationalities are rich in resources, the level of production forces are relatively low, their production items are rather unitary, the degree of mechanization is both low and incomplete. Some of their land is remote and some of their soil is inferior while resources might have undergone changes or limited to a few small areas. Under such conditions it is more suitable for the production responsibility system of production teams among minority nationalities to be simple and convenient, such as the large contract for the unit, fixing farm output quotas for each household and linking up two plots. I think this type of simple and convenient job responsibility system is workable as long as it does not impair the five principles discussed above, particularly the close relationship with the collective economically and in production. We cannot

regard it as division of land for individual farming or even as capitalism. Comrade Xiaoping pointed out clearly in response to questions when he received friends from Hong Kong: "Fixing farm output quotas for each household is itself a form of distribution within the scope of socialism and does not involve exploitation." He also said: "Fixing farm output quotas for each household does not go contrary to the general principle of the system of ownership by the collective. It is a form of the job responsibility system which can mobilize the enthusiasm of people and embodies distribution according to work without exploiting anyone. This form is very beneficial particularly in mountainous districts and backward areas where results have been immediate, with economic upswing in a year and income doubled or tripled. It is a system of job responsibility under the socialist system and is not capitalism at all. After this policy was implemented, not only has the income of peasants increased but they have become self-sufficient in grain formerly provided by the state and can even turn grain over to the state. The purchase power of the peasants has increased and the situation looks good as industrial goods have found markets. This is not only the case with fixing farm output quotas for each household but there are other systems of job responsibility. Development in this direction will promote the growth of the collective economy." What Comrade Xiaoping said strongly reveals the nature of the issue.

Apart from this, other systems of job responsibility should also be carried out to suit measures to local conditions. At present, we must vigorously popularize the experience of Saihantala, which is the system of responsibility to preserve the principal stock and increase breeding. Their method to "graze the cows and return the calves, make a change as soon as it gets crowded" for their cattle is good. One thing must be followed in this method, that is, the returning calves must be female so that they will benefit collective expansion of production and consolidating the collective economic foundation. As for the time to return the calves it can be early or late, but it would be wrong not to return them. Other livestock breeding can follow the method of "strong herds," which is contracting out collective livestock to specialized households and workers and adopting the remuneration form of "replacing a dead one with a live one, increasing breeding and dividing the proceeds," with some sharing young stock on the basis of breeding and some sharing cash.

Forest production should carry out the integrated system of job responsibility of "growing seedlings, afforestation and management." Specifically, it means giving contracts to individual specialists from the growing of seedlings to afforestation and management. In growing seedlings, for instance, we can have investment contracts. For an amount invested by the collective, contractors will hand over that much nursery stock and give that much in remuneration. For afforestation, a rational survival rate should be determined. Standard workpoints should be recorded for those who meet the demands, and over and under fulfillment should be rewarded or fined proportionally. In management and protection of forests, responsibility must be specified for each person and at the end of the year remuneration should be made according to the preservation rate.

In mechanized farm operations we can try out the system of job responsibility of unified management by the mechanized unit and contract management by mechanized teams. Specifically, in accordance with the local average per capital income in normal years and with reference to the standard cost of operations for each mu specified by trade departments of higher authorities, at the beginning of the year the production brigade contracts out to the teams the whole year's required expenses for oil, farm repair, management, heavy repair, depreciation and staff salary, and stipulates standard charges for operations in each standard mu. At distribution at the end of the year, on the basis of actual production output completed by all mechanized teams, for every standard mu we can collect .10 yuan for major repair and .10 yuan for depreciation to be handed over to the brigade for unified management and use in order to guarantee major repair and overhaul. After they deduct an amount from their annual income for the brigade and the mechanized teams will be responsible for their own profits and losses and will distribute whatever income they have.

This year, the mechanized farm production teams of the Baiyinnuole production brigade in Dorbod Monggolzu Autonomous County have even used the method of giving vehicle drivers farm contracts linking remuneration with output quotas for gasoline expenses of team vehicles. In other words, the production team gives 10 mu of land to each driver to grow peanuts with set quotas to be handed over to the production team and with proceeds above the quotas kept for oneself. At ordinary times workpoints are recorded by the brigade according to fixed quotas assigned to production teams. When it is time for distribution at the end of the year, drivers will carry their self-earned workpoints and receive their share from the teams they have the farm contracts. Other expenses of mechanized operations including major repair and depreciation are paid out of the income of brigade enterprises and mechanized transport. In this way, the production teams are eager to use machines and drivers are concerned with the quality of production, and results in the past year have been tangible. The per capita income of the production brigade has increased from 150 yuan in 1980 to 200 yuan in 1981, and grain sold to the state has increased from 60 to 350 metric tons. Of the 13 vehicle drivers who had contracts for growing peanuts, 11 received awards averaging 131 yuan. This method is actually a form of linking up two plots (responsibility plot and private plot).

We must conscientiously strengthen the leadership of the party and stress the system of production responsibility the way we used to stress agricultural cooperatives. We must pay close attention to the new things created by the masses in practice, resolve new problems in earnest, ensure that the various forms of the system of farm production responsibility which truly suit the actual conditions of minority nationalities become popularly established and perfected, and enable production in various trades in minority nationality areas to develop significantly.

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CSO: 4005/620

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' VIEWS RESPECTING, USING INTELLECTUALS

HK290721 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Mar 83 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Give Full Play to the Talent of Scientific and Technical Personnel"]

[Text] In 4 years' time, a "Hebei cooperative group of breeding disease-resistant cotton" composed of three scientific research units bred a new improved strain of "321" cotton, able to achieve high yields and also resist wilt and verticillium wilt diseases. This is gratifying and inspiring news.

Why was it that they achieved such remarkable success? In addition to concentrating and utilizing manpower, natural resources and other conditions, the most important thing is, they gave full play to the superiority of wisdom of these units. At present, there are often disputes over a matter involving more than one unit. But this cooperative group did not have the slightest dispute over trifles. In order to breed an improved variety at an early date, the comrades sought neither fame nor gain, but made an all-out, concerted effort to tackle major technical problems and achieved gratifying results. This event once again shows that scientific knowledge is a valuable treasure of our country. It is necessary to rely on the progress of science and technology and once the advanced science and technology is applied to production, it will turn into a mighty productive force. Provided we properly appraise the position and role of intellectuals, make the greatest efforts to give full play to the talent of scientific and technical personnel and do a good job in integrating production with science and technology, and scientific and technological fields, are there any difficult problems in the world that cannot be tackled? Whoever has a clear understanding of the superiority of intellectuals, can then determine to spare no efforts to arouse the initiative of intellectuals.

It is a pity that although the intellectuals in some units are not few in number, the leaders there still fail to be aware of such superiority; some are even prejudiced against intellectuals and consider only their shortcomings and non-essential aspects instead of their merits and main aspects, and do not have the courage to use them. It is indeed right that intellectuals are same as workers, peasants and cadres, and are not perfect people. They may have this or that kind of weakpoint, but compared with their devotion to work and knowledge and

technical talent, this is, after all, a minor aspect. While giving full play to their wisdom and talent, we must strengthen ideological education among them, so that they can remold their subjective world and at the same time remold the objective world.

Today, we have gradually freed ourselves from the fetters of the "left" deviation, given intellectuals their due status, trusted them politically and boldly utilized them in work. Those people who hold that we now "laud the intellectuals to the skies" hold prejudices that do not conform to reality. In order to realize the four modernizations, it is imperative to correct our attitude toward intellectuals, implement the policies toward them and give full play to their superiority.

CSO: 4005/668

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGXI RIBAO' URGES PROMOTING INTELLECTUALS

HK210209 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 20 Mar 83

[Report on 20 March GUANGXI RIBAO commentator's article: "Boldly Promote Intellectuals in the Prime of Life Who Have Ability and Political Integrity"]

[Excerpts] The current outstanding problem in the leadership groups at all levels in Guangxi is that the average age is too high, and in particular, educational level is too low. Not many people understand modern science and technology and advanced management. This situation is not at all compatible with the demands of the four modernizations drive. Hence, in current structural reform, boldly and promptly promoting intellectuals in the prime of life who have ability and political integrity is very important for effecting the cooperation of new and old cadres and replacement of old by new, changing the talent structure of the leadership groups, and creating a new situation in socialist modernization in Guangxi.

Guangxi has done a lot of work since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee in promoting outstanding middle-aged and young intellectuals to leading posts. However, we have not done enough, compared with the demands of the Central Committee and the requirements of creating a new situation in socialist modernization. Some comrades always dislike, worry about or are unconvinced about the promotion of middle-aged and young intellectuals. We hope these comrades will enhance understanding and overcome their erroneous ideas.

Some people hold that intellectuals cannot be leaders because they have no leadership experience. This is an unnecessary worry. Intellectuals who have not been leaders naturally lack leadership experience. However, as far as leading the masses to carry out socialist modernization is concerned, it is certainly not just they who lack experience. Experience comes from practice. At present quite a number of outstanding intellectuals have rapidly met the needs of work after becoming leaders, and the construction in the places, enterprises and units under their leadership has developed prosperously. This is a clear proof. At present the duty of the leaders is to provide conditions for outstanding young comrades to work well in their posts and gain experience.

People who stick to the notion of promotion according to seniority are not convinced about the promotion of middle-aged and young intellectuals. This idea must be discarded. One needs certain qualifications to gain experience. However, qualifications are not the same as experience. And experiences of the past are not necessarily all applicable today.

While attaching importance to intellectuals, we are certainly not saying they have no weak points. Their weak points should be overcome. However, we should first realize the important role of intellectuals in socialist modernization. Advocating the notion of promotion according to seniority means neglecting the role of intellectuals. By getting a correct view of knowledge and intellectuals and getting rid of anti-intellectual prejudice, we can boldly promote intellectuals with ability and political integrity who are in the prime of life.

CSO: 4005/668

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEW BAI HUA HISTORICAL PLAY OPENS IN BEIJING

OW131628 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 13 Mar 83

[Text] Beijing, 13 Mar (XINHUA)--A new historical play, "The Story of King Goujian," written by famed Chinese writer Bai Hua, premiered here this evening, and was well-received by a full house of more than one thousand.

The performance was staged by the Beijing People's Art Theater which is known for its performance of "Teahouse."

The new work is set in the late "spring and autumn period " (841-476 B.C.) of China's history. King Goukian of the state of Yue, working hard to strengthen his country, defeats the oppressor state of Wu through fierce fighting. However, [name indistinct] later forgets the bitter lessons of the past and once again indulges himself in luxury and pleasure and, his head turned by success, becomes imperious and despotic and is jealous of worthy and capable people. He therefore embarks once again on the road to doom.

Playwright Bai Hua is 53 years old. He has long been engaged in artistic creation in the Chinese People's Liberation Army. He has written ten scenarios and plays, many novels and large numbers of poems. The film "Unrequited love," based on his scenario was criticized in 1980, but his collection of poems "Spring Tide in Sight" was awarded in 1981.

As early as the 1960's, when Bai Hua was observing real life in Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, which was the capital of the ancient state of Yue, he collected many folk tales passed down from 2,500 years ago and began to plot his play.

The struggle between the state of Wu and the state of Yue in ancient Chinese history has been a subject of many forms of literary and art work. However, most of the works in the past were devoted to the rise of King Goujian--how he underwent self-imposed bitterness to strengthen his resolve to erase the national humiliation, and how he shared hardships with his people and finally defeated the powerful Wu. Bai Hua, however, has rejected this old pattern and taken a new approach.

The play is directed by the veteran actor Lan Tianye, who had one of the three main roles in the play "Teahouse." Commenting on Bai Hua's play, he said the play has tried to touch the people through vivid portrayal of the rise and fall of the characters' thoughts and has tried to give a true sense of what 2,500 years ago was like.

Most of the roles are performed by veteran actors and actresses. But the female lead, playing the famous beauty "Xishi" in history, is performed by a student actress in her late teens. Her excellent performance has already won her the reputation of "little Xishi."

Playwright Bai Hua made a special trip to Beijing from the south to see the play. "Your company has a well-deserved reputation, and your performance has conveyed the essence of what the play had tried to convey," Bai Hua said.

CSO: 4000/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON PATRIOTIC 'COMMUNIST' EDUCATION

HK310627 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Xu Qixian [6079 0796 6341]: "Combine Education on Patriotism With Education on Communism"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] To conduct more education on communism is a major task in building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization, and also an important guarantee of working for a high level of material civilization. At the same time, we must consistently conduct education on patriotism among cadres and the masses so as to combine education on communism with education on patriotism.

Lenin said: "Patriotism is an expression of deep feelings for one's motherland, which has been cultivated over thousands of years." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, pp 168-169) Such deep feelings show an ardent love for one's own nation, mother tongue, national traditions and the beautiful land of the motherland. On the other hand, such deep feelings show concern for the future and destiny of one's motherland, pledge loyalty to one's motherland and express a willingness to sacrifice for the prosperity of one's motherland.

Patriotism is within the category of history. It is kindled in line with the growth of a country and is extinguished in the wake of the fall of a country. In a historical sense, patriotism inevitably has a character of different classes because of the changing times. In socialist China, patriotism has been cultivated in revolutionary struggles under the leadership of CPC and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is a continuation and development of the patriotic traditions of the Chinese nation. Such patriotism has an essential distinction from that of all the exploiting classes in history. It is also different in content from the patriotism cherished by the laboring people in history. Patriotism of socialist China is bred on a foundation of scientific theory. It has precious and concrete contents and a clear and definite objective. It requires that we love independent new China, love the socialist system which has eliminated the political oppression of man to man and abolished the economic exploitation of man to man and love our socialist motherland, which is striving to create a new situation in all fields of socialist construction. It is thus clearly seen that socialist patriotism strikingly reflects the interests of the people, aspiration of the nation and bright future of the motherland. We cannot, of course, expect every Chinese to be a communist, but we must demand that everyone be a socialist patriot. If a Chinese does not love his own motherland, then he is not deserving to the glorious title of a Chinese.

/Socialist patriotism is an important component part of the whole ideological system of communism. It is closely linked with communism./ The communist movement often springs from each specific country. There is hardly any real communist movement in a country unless its people actively participate in patriotic movements. Such patriotic movements represent the future of communism. Therefore, communists should by no means separate themselves from the patriotic movements of their country, but should instead be prime participants of such patriotic movements, in which they are able to heighten their political consciousness, justify their communist belief, and guide the masses of the people in the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Communism gradually grows along with these patriotic struggles waged by communists and the revolutionary people in different countries. The communist movement in China developed in the democratic revolutionary struggles against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and in the mass patriotic struggle of socialist revolution and construction, such as the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea for defending the motherland and the three transformations for promoting production. Obviously, after the birth of Marxism, patriotism has always been closely linked with communism in the proletariat revolutionary movements and the national liberation movements. In these struggles, a real patriot will surely become a staunch communist. Therefore, we may say that patriotism is a starting point toward communism. On the other hand, a real communist must be a staunch patriot. This has been fully proved by the history of China's democratic revolution. During his youth, Comrade Mao Zedong was concerned about his country and his people and was resolved to save the country. After the "4 May" movement, he became more active in patriotic activities. He ran here and there, propagating Marxism-Leninism, to organize workers and peasants movements and to make preparations for the founding of the CPC with a view to overthrowing the three big mountains and realizing socialism and communism in China. Tempered in these struggles, Comrade Mao Zedong finally became a great leader of the Chinese people and a great communist. Meanwhile, Comrade Zhou Enlai, though young, was instilled with a strong sense of patriotism. For the rise of the motherland, he always soaked himself in study. Having gone through the "4 May" movement, he studied Marxism-Leninism very hard and steeled himself in revolutionary struggles. Consequently, he too became a great communist. Moreover, comrades like Lu Xun, Song Qinglin and Guo Moruo all had a militant career, changing from patriots to communists.

Patriotism differs in content in different historical periods of revolution and construction in our country. During the democratic revolution, patriotism aimed at safeguarding national independence and freedom and struggling against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in order to build China into a democratic, prosperous and strong country. However, along with the establishment and development of the socialist system, patriotism in our country is becoming more substantial in content. At the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping explicitly pointed out: "To step up socialist modernization, to strive for China's reunification and particularly for the return of Taiwan to the motherland, and to oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace--these are the three major tasks of our people in the 1980s."

/To strive for the accomplishment of the three major tasks is the most concentrated expression of patriotism at the present stage./ We must, therefore, do well in the following three aspects:

/First, we must be resolved to dedicate our life to socialist modernization./ This is a prime duty for every patriot. The 12th CPC National Congress proposed to the whole people the great task of creating new situations in all fields of socialist modernization. This is a matter of prime importance which is related to the future and destiny of our country and nation. Only when socialist economic construction is built well, will it be possible to further consolidate the socialist system, to improve the people's standards of living, to safeguard the security of the motherland and to make greater contribution to the world peace. "Every man has a share of the responsibility for the fate of his country." Every real patriotic Chinese must be resolved to get rid of the backwardness of the motherland to successfully fulfill every task assigned to him by the motherland so as to dedicate himself heart and soul to the cause of reinvigorating China.

/Second, we must work hard for China's reunification and protect the unity of our country./ The great cause of realizing the return of Taiwan to the motherland and China's reunification greatly substantiates the socialist patriotism of the 1980s. The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our country. Historically, the unification of a country and the unity of a nation always lead the country to prosperity and thrive, otherwise, the country is bound to split and fall. Therefore, all real patriots in history object to splitting a country. In the past thousands of years, the Chinese nation had been split for many times, yet patriotism, as a powerful centripetal force, all along strongly cemented this nation. All real patriots must, therefore, go into action to safeguard and promote the great cause of China's reunification.

/Third, we must oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace./ Patriotism of the proletariat is closely linked with internationalism. The emancipation of the proletariat is a worldwide cause. In the struggle for its emancipation, the proletariat must uphold internationalism, oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace. We must carry forward patriotism and build China into a great, modern, prosperous and socialist power. In the meantime, we must also insist on the unity of internationalism and patriotism. In line with the five principles of peaceful coexistence, we must properly handle the relationship between countries, actively develop economic and cultural exchanges with other countries and resolutely support the oppressed nations in their cause of emancipation as well as the just struggles of the people of the world so as to accelerate the emancipation of mankind. Such patriotism is entirely different from parochial nationalism. It indeed embodies the cardinal principles of Marxism, and is closely linked with communism.

/Of the three aspects, to step up socialist modernization is a task of prime importance for us. This provides the ground for solving all problems, at home and abroad. This is also the most substantial content of our patriotism at the present stage./ Therefore, the major criterion to measure one's patriotism at the present stage is to see whether he actually rises to the challenge to take

an active part in socialist modernization and whether he does his utmost to make contributions to the task of quadrupling the total agricultural and industrial annual output value by the end of the century.

The Chinese nation is brave and diligent and is a heroic nation known for its hardship in the world. Our country is a great country with a long history of traditional civilization. In the history of mankind, the Chinese nation made numerous contributions to the civilization and progress of mankind. And our country was once one of the most advanced countries in the world. Over the past thousands of years, the Chinese nation bred a fine tradition of patriotism. The triumph of socialism over this age-old land has made patriotism more substantial in content than any period of time in history. The history from the democratic revolution to the socialist construction has given eloquent proof that the Chinese communists have been sparing no efforts to realize their lofty ideals of communism. They are also the most ardent and steadfast patriots. In the sacred cause of building China into a modern socialist power, the Chinese communists always unite closely with millions of people and unite all patriotic personages. These are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause. Under the new historical circumstances, as long as the whole party, the people of the country, compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, overseas Chinese abroad and all patriotic personages continue to carry forward the good patriotic traditions of the Chinese nation and make them a mighty force, our cause will certainly grow and thrive and our nation and country will certainly stand erect like a giant in the world.

CSO: 4005/668

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUNAN LEADERS ATTEND EDUCATION REFRESHER COURSE

OW221429 Beijing XINHUA in English 1327 GMT 22 Mar 83

[Text] Changsha, 22 Mar (XINHUA)--Hunan Province took a new step today towards having a better educated and professionally competent leadership by sending two provincial party secretaries back to school.

Liu Fusheng and Dong Zhiwen, along with 48 department directors and prefectural leaders, will spend the next two and a half years attending a refresher course of eleven subjects including the Chinese language, mathematics, law, management and Marxist theory.

Most of these leaders are between the ages of 45 and 50 and some have as much as 30 years' work experience. However, lack of education has hampered their progress.

In addition to opening this refresher course, the newly-selected Hunan Provincial Party Committee has added some better educated people to its Standing Committee. Six of the 11 members are college educated.

Since 1978, some 90 percent of the junior cadres in the province have attended training classes lasting from a few months to one year. The new refresher course aims at involving the highest provincial leaders.

Liu Fusheng, just over 50, has been secretary of the provincial party committee and first party secretary of Changshu until recently. He had only a primary school education when he joined the revolution in 1945. Over the past decades he has raised his level through self-study.

He recalled how General Secretary Hu Yaobang in a recent trip to Hunan had encouraged him to get a better education in order to improve his future work. The refresher course is jointly run by Hunan Teachers' College and the provincial party school.

[Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese at 0748 GMT also carries a report on the Hunan refresher course which adds that "at an inauguration ceremony, first secretary [Di Yi Shu Ji 4574 0001 2579 6068] Mao Zhiyong of the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee pointed out: 'To leave one's official post and devote oneself in acquiring general knowledge' meet the need for the development of socialist modernization."]

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'CHINA DAILY' DISCUSSES LITERARY MODERNISM

HK250302 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 25 Feb 83 p 4

[Article by Jiang Xiaoming: "Art Is Exploring New Ways"]

[Text] There has been a debate over literary "modernism"--a self-conscious break with the past and a search for new forms of expression--in China's media in the last few months. The following is the opinion of a teacher in the Beijing Foreign Languages Institute.

Ironically, while Chinese writers are arguing over whether they should take over a dead modernism from the West, some Western people are looking to the East for spiritual support, in much the same way as China is looking to the West for advanced science and technology.

Of course, for the majority of people in the West, this trend is very superficial. The many people reading I Jing (The Book of Change) or practising transcendental meditation are as blind to the essence of Eastern culture as some Chinese are to Western modernism.

It would take more than this article to describe the essence beneath the multi-coloured mysticism of Western modernism. The following are only a few random thoughts:

Modernism developed out of the humanistic and realistic tradition of Western culture. Apart from its socio-economic base, which has been well-emphasized--at least in China--it also had roots in the scientific, philosophical and psychological advances of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Great minds such as Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche, Sigmund Freud and Albert Einstein all contributed to a materialistic outlook on the world. Human society was redefined, God was discredited and, most significant of all, the common working man was put centre stage.

Immediately, artists became interested in the common man. A group of young writers were chiefly concerned about alienation, frustration and helplessness of modern man. Some were progressive and revolutionary in their patriotism,

in their humanism or simply in their anger at capitalist society; some were passive and pessimistic, turning inward or obsessed with an endeavour for self-expression. Although many were difficult to understand, almost all were courageous enough to fight the conventional state of mind, embodying a pioneering spirit.

We should think twice before passing any sweeping judgments. We should take into account the historic conditions and social environment each modernist writer was in.

When a literary form is established, especially where "giants" are involved, there is always a danger of trying later to apply it wholesale. This is what is happening to realism. In fact, if it deserves the name realism, it should develop along with society instead of becoming a stereotype for others to follow.

When we discuss realism today, we should not merely follow the criteria derived from past literary giants such as Balzac and Tolstoy, or Lu Xun and Mao Dun. Neither should we label a writer realist simply because he does not conform to the "good old days."

Rather than taking it for granted that realism is opposed to modernism, we should pose a question: Since realism is basically a style, is it possible for the two to go hand in hand? Many great modernist writers are realistic in their attitudes toward society. In fact, James Joyce, one of the foremost modernist writers, is very realistic in most of his works.

Bloom in "Ulysses" is representative of Irish life of his time. An obvious parallel can be found in a work by Lu Xun. Their national flavour makes both writers loved by their own peoples. Lu Xun, a great realist, was modernistic in his use of language and in his revelation of people's inner feelings. So are many other Chinese writers. Wang Meng was experimenting with stream-of-consciousness style. If readers like it, why not? Otherwise, it can hardly last. Let the people decide.

Modernism is dead both in the West and in China, but the pioneering spirit is still present. In its modernization programme, China is exploring new ways. So too is Chinese art.

Whether we call it modernism, avant-garde, postmodernism, or something else, it does not matter so long as it is appropriate to China's reality. We do not need any new trends to follow or any past rules to obey. We do need to face the present, the reality, and make something out of it.

CSO: 4000/91

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ACTIVITIES OF WRITERS YE NAN, BAI HUA EXAMINED

HK280612 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0106 GMT 28 Feb 83

[Feature by correspondent Jin Di [6855 1229]: "How Things Stand With Ye Nan and Bai Hua"--ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE headline]

[Text] Beijing, 28 Feb (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--Both Ye Nan and Bai Hua, twin brothers and famous writers, are activists in China's cultural circles since the smashing of the "gang of four." Both Ye Nan's "Aolei Yilan" and Bai Hua's "Morning Light" were named best feature film by the Ministry of Culture in 1980. In 1981, Ye Nan's "A Rainy Night in Bashan Mountain" won the title of the best film of the first Golden Cock Prize competition of Chinese films and he was named the best scriptwriter of the competition. Bai Hua's "Unrequired Love" was criticized, but his poems won the prize for a work of excellence.

In recent years, the two brothers respectively have gone deep into life and correctly understood life, continuously creating brilliant images with noble characters. After receiving the prize in Hangzhou, Ye Nan headed directly for China's northwestern part together with Wu Yigong, a film director, with an aim of writing a film script about young people. However, en route this plan was changed after he was moved by the heroic deeds of an independent women's regiment of the western route army of the Red Army. He decided to write a film script depicting this women's contingent, which was named "The Elder Sisters." Ye Nan wanted to make a breakthrough in writing on military subjects by creating a war film without war scenes. He abstained from writing about battles, but paid attention to writing about human beings and their belief in beautiful life, which totally corresponded with Wu Yigong's style of direction and Won Wu's approval. The film script has been finished and the film is going to be shot.

A topographic troop which has worked in Tibet for 20 years also profoundly attracted Ye Nan. "When the mountain-climbing athletes reached the summit of Mount Qomolangma, the topographic personnel surveyed and drew the commanding height of Mount Qomolangma, changing the previous representation by the British. What wonderful work they did! What kind of people are they?" Ye Nan decided to go deep into the high mountains and ridges and climb icy peaks and snowy highlands, sharing a life with this respectable topographic troop for a period.

With deep feeling, Ye Nan said: "It is hard to imagine that some ordinary fighters have silently worked in this barren area for 20 years." Now, he has lived with them for more than 2 months. He has seen the pure hearts of the topographic soldiers and is writing their heroic and moving deeds into his film script.

Ye Nan's other desire is to write a film script about Huang Xin, a leader of the 1911 revolution. He is now collecting historical data and information on the 1911 revolution.

Over the past 2 years or so, Bai Hua has concentrated on going deep into life and has gone to the border areas in Yunnan Province, his second home. He told this reporter that the first PLA units with whom he entered Yunnan years ago was stationed there and he had many old comrades in arms, old colleagues and old friends. He spent 1/2 year writing four medium-length novels and a novel with four different styles, some dealing with war and some about the new life in the border areas.

Bai Hua held that the criticism of "Unrequited Love" had two advantages: 1) it made people more deeply understand that the communist party's policy of criticism is aimed at helping those who are criticized; and 2) it stimulated him to work harder, urged him to give new consideration to life, literature and film and made him realize that people need artistic creations of higher quality. To a writer, this is a severe test. With deep feeling, he said that there are boundless sources in life and writers must turn their pens to the innermost of the hearts of ordinary people and write more attractive works.

"I have heard that you are writing a script on a historical subject. Is it true?" asked this reporter, after remembering that the historical play "King Wu's Shining Spear and King Yue's Sword" was being rehearsed by the Beijing People's Art Theatre.

"Oh, yes," Bai Hua replied delightedly. This is a historical story based on the same era of Cao Yu's "The Story of Gall and Sword," but from a different approach and with a different way of depiction." Bai Hua disclosed that he treats Guo Jian as a human being and an emperor and intends to portray him in several aspects from the viewpoint of historical materialism.

When asked about this year's plans, this talented prolific writer replied that he was not going to be a prophet but wished to do better in the new year. He will spend 1/2 year going deep into life and, in addition to writing novels, he will, if possible, write one film script. Bai Hua said that a man at his age (52) would collapse and never be able to take up a pen again if he were to seek comfort and refused to work. One may not reach the summit of continuing to climb, but at least he will not collapse. He is willing to be such a writer and go on climbing diligently no matter how hard life may be.

CSO: 4005/668

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE' INTERVIEWS WRITER QIN MU

HK280708 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0850 GMT 27 Feb 83

[Article by Fang Yuansheng [2455 6678 3932]: "Interview With Qin Mu"--ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE headline]

[Text] Guangzhou, 27 Feb (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--This reporter called on famous writer Qin Mu who is attending the Fifth Guangdong Provincial CPC Congress.

Qin Mu looked at least 5 to 6 catties thinner than 1/2 year ago, and is obviously slimmer and in better health. I found out that he has been reducing. Last year, on two occasions Qin Mu suddenly fainted at work. He said that for a short time, the blood pumping to his cerebrum was not adequate. He was very clear-headed at the beginning, but slowly lost consciousness. Needless to say, this is a common affliction of old people.

There is a common saying: "Money cannot buy slimness in old age." For the sake of producing better work in the future, Qin Mu is now beginning to control his busy pen. He says: My plan of producing a volume of essays a year has not changed, but the quality of the articles will be improved. Also, I must pay attention to my body. Qin Mu is quite satisfied with the success of his reducing. He unconsciously touches his belly and says: "I must still continue to reduce!"

Reducing can make a person healthy. An overstaffed organization, like a fat person, must also reduce. Thus, we unconsciously shifted the topic of conversation to the currently popular subject of reform. I remember that the famous writer Wang Meng suggested that writers not receive pay and should get along by relying on manuscript fees. When his proposition was released, the literary and art circles in Guangdong were divided in their opinion. Some supported his view and others claimed that it would not work. He does Qin Mu feel about this?

Qin Mu approves of the reform, but says: "I approve of floating wages. Writers can cut their salary by half. Then, he who writes more should receive more." The reason is very simple. Writers must take part in many essential social activities. Qin Mu, for example, attended the 12th Party Congress last September and is now attending the provincial party congress. He is also a member of the Standing Committee of the Guangdong Provincial People's Congress, and there is a tentative

suggestion for the holding of a provincial people's congress on 3 April for the election of leading members of the provincial government. All these meetings must be attended. Such being the case, there will be much less time for writing. Moreover, manuscript fees also tend to be too low. Payment for a new volume of essays is per word and only about 7 yuan per thousand words. Income from reprints is even more insignificant. Furthermore, there should also be more publishing houses. It appears that the reform of the literary and art circles is still clearly a case of "the benevolent see benevolence and the wise see wisdom."

Qin Mu says: "I do not approve of criticizing the 'iron rice bowl.' We should only criticize 'eating from the same big pot.'"

I was at first startled by these words. On careful thinking, Qin Mu has a very good reason for making this statement. Qin Mu lived in Hong Kong during his youth. In his reminiscences of this period, he wrote of a life of "poverty and frustration." He lived in the squatter area, and when his hut was blown down during a typhoon, he fortunately escaped being crushed to death by hiding under the bed." He was a "frequent customer of pawnshops," "worked as a fisherman" and "even engaged in sidewalk gambling." He also often ate in small foodstalls where he could barely fill his hungry stomach for 10 cents at that time. Evidently, Qin Mu has experienced the hardships of unemployment.

Qin Mu holds that low work efficiency is not caused by "iron rice bowl" but by "eating from the same big pot" (egalitarianism). "Iron rice bowl" is socialism, and "eating from the same big pot" is not socialism.

I have greatly benefited from this talk, and am specially writing it down as a treat for the readers.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL SALVATION SOCIETY DESCRIBED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Feb 83 p 5

[Article by Zhou Tiandu [0719 1131 1653]: "The National Salvation Society and the 'Seven Gentlemen' Case"]

[Text] National Salvation Society, established in 1936 in Shanghai with its formal name of National Salvation Society of All Circles, was a national organization founded to resist against Japan and to save the nation.

Following the 18 September Incident in 1931, the Japanese imperialists occupied the northeast. In 1935, Japan launched a new offensive in the north, in an attempt to turn the north into the second "Manchuria," and thus to further swallow up our whole country. But the Kuomintang held on obstinately to its reactionary policy of "to resist foreign aggression is to bring peace first inside." Internally it stepped up "wiping out communists" and suppression of the people; but firmly showing its non-resistance, it came to terms with, and surrendered to the Japanese aggression. The horrible calamity of national subjugation and genocide of China was imminent. On 1 August last year, the Chinese Communist Party issued an "Appeal to All Fellow Countrymen to Resist Against Japan and Save the Nation," calling for an end of civil war and unity of all parties, groups, armies and all circles of the whole country to resist against Japan and to save the nation. After the triumphant Long March of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army reached, in October, northern Shaanxi province, the Communist Party again restated its stand for unity in resistance against Japan. Responding to the Communist Party's call, students in Beijing launched in December the "9 December" movement. At the same time, more than 280 persons, among them Mao Xiangbo [7456 4161 0130], Shen Junru [3088 6874 0320], Zhang Naiqi [4545 0035 0892], Zhou Taofen [6760 7290 1164], Tao Xingzhi [7118 5887 4249], Li Gongpu [2621 0361 2613], Want Zaoshi [3768 6644 2514], Qian Junrui [6929 0193 3843], Jin Zhonghua [6855 0112 5478], etc., issued jointly on 12 December a "Declaration of National Salvation Movement of Shanghai Cultural Circles," launching a national salvation movement. Following this, other national salvation organizations were established, such as National Salvation Society of Women, National Salvation Society of Cultural Circles, National Salvation Society of Professional Circles. On 28 January 1936, Shanghai National Salvation Society of All Circles was formally founded. The resistance and national salvation movement of the people in Shanghai unfolded vigorously. Song Qingling [1345 1967 7781] who lived then in Shanghai gave active support to the national salvation movement.

The launching of national salvation movement in Shanghai drew chain reaction from all over the places. The cultural and women circles in Beiping, Nanjing, Wuhan, Tianjin, Guangxi and Shandong, etc. all formed national salvation organizations one after another. During the first half of 1936, Japan sent a large number of troops to the North. The five northern provinces almost ceased to exist except in name. The nation's crisis further deepened. Then, under the call and leadership of Song Qingling, Ma Xiangbo, Shen Junru, Zhang Naiqi, etc., on 31 May and 1 June, more than 70 people from 20 provinces representing 60 or so national salvation groups and the 19th Route Army held an inaugural meeting of the National Salvation Society of All Circles. At the meeting important documents were passed, among them the "Manifesto of Inaugural Meeting of National Salvation Society of All Circles," "Preliminary Political Program for Resistance Against Japan and National Salvation." Forty or so persons, such as Song Qingling, Ma Xiangbo, Zou Taofen, were elected as executive committee members, and 14 people, such as Shen Junru, Zhang Naiqi, Li Gongpu, Wang Zaoshi, Shi Qianli [3097 0578 0649], Shi Liang [0670 5328], Sun Xiaocun [1327 2556 26], Cao Mengjun [2580 1322 0689], etc. as standing committee members.

The National Salvation Society's documents, such as its manifesto and political program, etc., pointed out that the main objective of Japan's policy on the continent was to destroy China. The only vital line for Chinese people to save the nation from subjugation and ensure its survival was to stop immediately all civil wars and internal strifes and to unite as one to fight against the enemy with all our strength. The mistakes the Kuomintang made were that they "externally have abandoned the nation's common main enemy; internally they have staked the defense capability on a single throw to eliminate those who hold different views." The documents stipulated that the National Salvation Society's purpose was to unite all the forces of the country, unify national salvation policies, safeguard territorial integrity, and seek national liberation. And its main tasks in that period were to help to bring about the unity and cooperation of all parties and groups to stop immediately military conflicts and send official representatives to negotiate, "so as to lay down a common resistance program and establish a unified resistance power." The National Salvation Society expressed its willingness to act as mediator to bring about unity and cooperation among all parties and groups, and to ensure, with all its power, faithful implementation of the common program. On 16 July, Shen Junru, Zhang Naiqi, Tao Zingzhi and Zou Taofen jointly issued an article, entitled "Several Basic Conditions and Minimum Requirements for Unity in Resistance Against Foreign Aggression," which clearly expressed their approval of and support for the Chinese Communist Party's preposition for establishing the national united front in resistance against Japan, demanding that the Kuomintang stop immediately the civil war, unite with the Red Army and fight together against Japan. After the founding of the National Salvation Society of All Circles, local branches were formed one after another in south and north China, the Northwest, and in Nanjing, Jinan, Wuhan, etc. Overseas Chinese living in Europe, the United States and southeast Asia also formed societies in resistance against Japan and salvation of the nation.

The Kuomintang not only did not resist against Japan, but also did not let the people fight against Japan. Because the National Salvation Society called for cease of civil wars, unity with the Communist Party in resistance against Japan, demanded establishment of a united resistance power consisting of all parties and groups, and change of the Kuomintang's erroneous internal and foreign policies, it was deeply feared and hated by the Kuomintang. Late night 12 November 1936, the Kuomintang authorities in Shanghai arrested seven leaders of the National Salvation Society, Shen Junru, Zhang Naiqi, Zou Taofen, Li Gongpu, Wang Zaoshi, Sha Qianli, and Shi Liang, and later moved them to Suzhou and detained them in Jiangsu provincial higher court prison. (Shi Liang was detained alone in the Siqian Street Women's prison,) and began investigation and interrogation of their "crime of patriotism." This was the famous "seven gentlemen" case.

The arrest of the National Salvation Society's leaders shocked the whole country and people abroad. Protests to the Kuomintang poured in from personalities of all circles of the country. A rescue movement great in strength and impetus was launched. Song Qingling and He Xiangning [0149 7449 0413] issued statements, denouncing the Kuomintang's destruction of patriotic movement, and unlawful arrest of the seven persons. More than a hundred personalities of cultural and educational circles in Beiping, such as Li Da [2621 6671], Xu Deheng [6079 1795 3801], Xu Shoushang [6079 1108 5951], etc., sent a jointly signed telegram to the Kuomintang government, demanding the immediate release of the "seven." "Red China," the Chinese Communist Party newspaper in Yanan, and "National Salvation News" in Paris carried commentaries attacking the Nanking government's "despotic rule that condemns patriotism" and expressing support for Shen, etc. The "Seven Gentlemen" case also evoked wide repercussions abroad. Chinese living in European and American countries, as well as renounced international personalities, such as Einstein, Dewey, Ross, etc, all sent telegrams to the Kuomintang government, demanding freedom for Shen Junru and others.

The Kuomintang's fascist atrocity of suppressing national salvation movement also aroused dissatisfaction from patriotic generals Zhang Xueliang [1728 1331 5328] and Yang Hucheng [2799 5706 1004]. In early December Zhang Xueliang went alone to Loyang to meet with Chiang Kai-shek who was then drawing up a civil war plan to "wipe out communists," and specially pleaded with Chiang to free the seven persons and was refused by Chiang Kai-shek. On 12 December, Zhang and Yang launched the Xian Incident which shocked the country and the whole world. On the same day they issued an open telegram to the nation, pointing out "since the outbreak of unjust charge against Shanghai patriots, the world is shocked, the whole nation is distressed. Condemning patriotism makes one boil with anger." Among their eight prepositions was the demand for immediate release of the arrested patriotic leaders. Here we see the connection between the "seven gentlemen" case and the Xian Incident.

After the peaceful solution of the Xian Incident, peace appeared in the country and the national united front in resistance against Japan was gradually taking shape. The prospect to cease of civil war and united resistance against Japan fought for forcefully by the National Salvation Society was beginning to appear. The people all began to think that Shen Junru, etc. would surely be set free with

a verdict of "not guilty." However, the Kuomintang government continued to consider every patriotic movement "endangering the Republic," and continued the persecution of the seven persons. On 3 April 1937, Jiangsu provincial higher court trumped up "ten big charges," instituting proceedings against Shen, etc. In addition, it intensified the case by ordering the arrest of Tao Zingzhi, etc. On 11 and 25 June two court sessions were opened in Suzhou to put the seven on trial.

The seven imprisoned fought unyieldingly, adhering to the sacred cause to save the nation and resist against Japan. On 7 June, they issued a "Reply to Charges," denouncing point by point the false accusations in the "indictment," pointing out that "the defendants' patriotic activities were falsely charged as harmful to the country, and their call for national salvation was pointed out as propaganda against the Three People's Principles. This in fact confounds right and wrong, mixes up black and white, tramples on the sanctity of the law, and improperly draws conclusions on merits and guilts of the history." They demanded to be set free, on the basis of law, with a verdict of "not guilty," "to be cleared of false charges, and let justice be defended." In the Suzhou courtroom, they were awe-inspiring for upholding justice, and remained faithful and unyielding, denouncing on just grounds the judicial authorities' false charges. The presiding judge was refuted, unable to say a word to justify himself and was in utter embarrassment. The trial ended with the defeat of judge and the triumph of those on trial.

During the time from Jiangsu higher court's public persecution of Shen, etc. in April until the June trial in Suzhou, the case became one of the general issues drawing the attention of the whole nation's patriots. The Chinese Communist Party and the people of all circles issued statements, letters, telegrams and commentaries one after another, held mass meetings, launched more extensive rescue movements. At the end of June, Song Qingling, He Xiangning, Hu Yuzhi [5170 1937 0037], etc. started a "going to jail" to save the nation movement, proposing that if patriotism was a crime, they wanted to be punished together with Shen, etc.; if patriotism was not a crime, they wanted to enjoy freedom, together with Shen and the others. The group led by Song Qingling went to Suzhou, demanding Jiangsu higher court to take them into custody. Because of the firm struggle of Shen Junru, etc., the unanimous support of the whole nation, and the great change in internal political situation following the 7 July, the outbreak of War of Resistance Against Japan, the Kuomintang government was forced to release on bail the "seven gentlemen" on 31 July.

The "seven gentlemen" case fully exposed the reactionary nature of the Kuomintang that yielded to the enemy and suppressed the people. It sharpened the people's eyes, made them understand one truth: Only the Chinese Communist Party, that really raised highly the banner in resistance against Japan, could save China. After the outbreak of War of Resistance Against Japan, the National Salvation Society became a left-wing political group under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. On 18 December 1949, in Beijing, the National Salvation Society, in view of the liberation of the whole country and the completion of its historic mission, announced its termination.

12200

CSO: 4005/628

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

HENAN POPULATION TARGETS--This afternoon provincial CPC committee secretary and acting governor Comrade He Zhukang made a speech at a meeting to sum up the province's family planning propaganda month and commend advanced units and individuals. He analyzed the situation in the province's family planning work and put forward demands on further creating a new situation in the work. He said: Henan's natural population growth rate was 23.36 per 1,000 in 1973. By last year it had fallen to 11.86 per 1,000. We must ensure a further fall of 11.3 this year and also strive for 10.55. At the same time we must seriously study how to accomplish the task set by the state of controlling the province's population at 86.5 million by the year 2000. Naturally it will not be easy to accomplish this goal. We must have strong confidence and also apply scientific methods and unstinting efforts. [Excerpts] [HK250408 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Mar 83]

DENG LIQUN LETTER--According to a report by our station reporter Zhou Yuchun in Jilin, young pioneers of (Jiangsuo) primary school in (Linjiang) town of Hunjiang City, Jilin, addressed the problems they encountered in the education in communist ideas to veteran cadres, Red Army soldiers, models and intellectuals who the students admired. So far the school has received 25 replies. On 18 March the "1 May" team of the school sent a letter to Deng Liqun, member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and director of its Propaganda Department, thanking him for his reply to their queries. Last October, the school launched an educational activity in striving for the cause of communism at all times. After receiving a letter from the "1 May" team, Comrade Deng Liqun wrote a reply on 8 December last year. The letter said: To foster a communist world outlook and become a communist requires not only study but also, more importantly, the courage to practice and to start from now on and from small deeds which will accumulate and become a great river or mountain. The fantasy of sacrificing one's own life to accomplish a great understanding in a short moment and to amaze the world with a single brilliant feat is unrealistic and cannot materialize. Comrade Deng Liqun also sent a book to the Young Pioneers. The title of the book is "People Who Strive for the Cause of Communism to the End." [Text] [OW261301 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 26 Mar 83]

HUNAN FAMILY PLANNING--At the Hunan provincial symposium on family planning propaganda month which ended on 12 March, Vice Governor Cao Wenju spoke, saying that family planning is not an expedient measure nor a short-term task and that it is necessary to grasp it unrelentingly, firmly and well. The meeting was held

in Zhuzhou from 8-12 March. According to statistics, during the propaganda month, in the whole province, some 960,000 sterilization operations were conducted and some 70,000 couples, who had only one child each, received one-child certificates. As a result of taking remedial measures, for the year the whole province had 140,000 births fewer than is normal, a reduction in the population birth rate by 2.75 per 1,000. The meeting pointed out that 10-15 percent of communes and brigades throughout the province did not basically take action during the propaganda month and that at present, the situation of multiple births in the province is still very serious. Some 40-odd-years-old women in (Daping) commune in Pingjiang County still are having their seventh and eighth child. This situation should not continue. All places must do well in organizing family planning work before the spring transplanting season. They must send doctors to implement sterilization measures. [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Mar 83 HK]

TIANJIN EDUCATIONAL WORK CONFERENCE--On 18-20 February, Tianjin Municipality held a work conference on education for staff members and workers. Leading comrades of the municipal CPC committee and government, including Zhang Zaiwang, Yang Huijie and Bai Hua, made speeches at the conference. According to statistics compiled at the end of 1982, in the last 2 years, some 180,000 young staff members and workers across the municipality acquired certificates as qualified junior middle school graduates through their arduous studies. Great progress has been made in training cadres. By the end of 1982, some 7,500 cadres below the age of 40 had acquired diplomas of junior and senior middle schools and the secondary vocational school. [SK280654 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 21 Feb 83 SK]

TIANJIN WRITERS' FORUM--The China Federation and the Tianjin Federation of Literary and Art Circles jointly held a forum on the livelihood of literary and art workers in Tianjin Municipality. Some 100 writers and artists from across the municipality attended the forum. (Zhao Lin), permanent secretary of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and (Zhang Zhutian), advisor of the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee, were cochairmen of the forum. Zhou Yang, advisor of the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles made an important speech at the forum. Bai Hua, Standing Committee member of the municipal CPC committee and deputy mayor, visited all the participants of the forum. [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 28 Feb 83 SK]

POLITICAL SCIENCE, LAW UNIVERSITY--Beijing, 25 Mar (XINHUA)--China plans to establish a university of political science and law here in the Chinese capital with an enrollment of some 7,000 students, the Ministry of Justice disclosed today. The largest of its kind yet to be founded in the country, the new institution aims to train more professionals for the bar and senior judiciary personnel, both urgently needed by the state, an official from the ministry said. Preparations for establishing the university began a year ago. Justice Minister Liu Fuzhi invited educators in the science of law and leaders of judicial departments to discuss the school system and teaching methods on a number of occasions. According to a tentative program, there will be three colleges under the university training undergraduates, graduates and in-service cadres. The institution will be located in the satellite town of Huangcun in the southern suburbs of Beijing. Construction of the school premises is now underway, with the help of the Beijing Municipal People's Government. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1106 GMT 25 Mar 83 OW]

RISE OF NON-KMT POLITICAL FORCES IN TAIWAN VIEWED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 64, Feb 83 pp 36-39

[Article by Lo Chi'iu-hsueh: "The Challenge of Nonparty Forces in Taiwan"]

[Text] "Flying a Thousand Li Easily, But Finding It Hard To Move an Inch on the Ground"

For several years I had not been to Taiwan. This year I was able, by means of my New Year's Day vacation, to spend 9 days in Taipei.

Taipei's airport used to be at Sungshan. This time the airplane landed at Taipei's new airport, Chungcheng. Chungcheng Airport is much bigger than Hong Kong's Ch'ite Airport. After coming out of the aircraft hatch, one must go down a long corridor before one reaches the entry checkpoint. Fortunately, this corridor contains two long automatic conveyor belts on which I could place my heavy hand-carried luggage and save the burden on my shoulders and arms. These two automatic conveyor belts alone show that Chungcheng Airport is a modern airport.

The airport's facilities are modern, but the procedure at the checkpoint is very backward. First of all, there were too few inspectors at the checkpoint. For the 200 to 300 persons who alighted from the 747 airlines, only 4 or 5 checkpoint entrances were opened, so there was a long line at every one of them. I don't know why, but the inspectors spent a long time with every traveler, and even spent a long time interrogating people from Taiwan who had travelled abroad and were returning home. I got at the end of the line, and by the time I passed through the checkpoint entrance I had taken over 1 hour, about the total time to fly from Hong Kong to Taipei. This truly was "flying a thousand li easily, but finding it hard to move an inch on the ground." With the most modern flight speed, in the end I could not avoid being blocked by the bottleneck of a backward inspection system!

Wang T'o and Yang Ch'ing-chu Write Novels While in Prison

Along the streets of Taipei, all the government organizations and public structures were festooned with colored horizontal tablets in celebration of the 35th anniversary of the constitution. The government seemingly intended by this to advertise Taiwan's democracy.

Is Taiwan a democracy? Taiwan seems to be much more democratic than the Chinese mainland. At least, Taiwan has elections of National Assembly representatives, Legislative Yuan members, and Control Yuan members to fill vacancies in these bodies; has elections of the provincial, municipal, and county legislative assemblies; and also has elections to mayors of municipalities under the jurisdiction of the provincial government and of magistrates of counties (elections are not permitted for the posts of governor of Taiwan Province or mayor of Taipei municipality). Although among the people elected in these elections many "big bulls" (wealthy and powerful persons) appear, many nonparty personages (personages who are not members of the KMT) also appear. These nonparty personages have already become a force in society and are rapidly tending to pose a challenge to KMT power.

Still fresh in the memory of people of Hong Kong is the "MEI LI TAO [FORMOSA] incident," which occurred in Taiwan 3 years ago on 10 December 1979. This was an incident in which the nonparty forces had a head-on confrontation with the KMT, after which Chang Chun-hsiung, Yao Chia-wen, Lin I-hsiung, and Shih Ming-te were convicted and imprisoned. At the same time, many other persons were also arrested and convicted, among them Wang T'o and Yang Ch'ing-chu, famous writers in Taiwan. A number of democratic personages in Hong Kong started a signature campaign in Hong Kong that year in order to rescue Wang T'o and Yang Ch'ing-chu and they also held a press conference.

How do things stand now with Wang T'o and Yang Ch'ing-chu? It is reported that they are both locked up in Taipei's Taoyuan Kueishan prison. Wang T'o was given a 6-year sentence and still has 3 years to go; Yang Ch'ing-chu was given a sentence of 4 years 2 months and still has 1 year 1 month to serve before his release. While in prison, Wang T'o completed a 250,000-word novel entitled "Story of Niutu Port" and has sent it out for publication. Also, while in prison, Yang Ch'ing-chu has completed a 300,000-word novel and is now mailing successive parts of the original manuscript back home. On this point, a KMT prison is more progressive than a Chinese communist one. It permits writers to ply their trade while in prison--naturally, the writing of antigovernment works is not permitted, but the writing of ordinary works is permitted.

TA TI Stops Publication, TSAI YEH Starts Publication, HSIA CH'AO Resumes Publication

After the "MEILI TAO incident," it was thought that the nonparty forces in Taiwan would never recover from this setback. The impression I got on this trip to Taiwan was precisely the opposite. One can infer a general idea on this point just by looking at the countless nonparty publications sold at newsstands along the streets.

There are many nonparty publications in Taiwan, and they truly can be said to be as thick as trees in a forest. Their names are: PO [LEARNED VIEW], SHEN KENG [KEEP PLOWING], KUAN HUAI [CONCERN], CHENG CHIH CHIA [STATESMAN], TSUNG HENG [LENGTH AND BREADTH], PA SHIH NIEN TAI [THE EIGHTIES], YA CHOU

JEN [THE ASIAN], CHE I TAI [THIS GENERATION, HSIN SHENG TAI [NEW GENERATION], TZU YU CHUNG [FREEDOM BELL], TAI I SHIH [REPRESENTATIVE], TA TI SHENG HUO [EARTH LIFE], SHENG HUO YU HUAN CHING [LIFE AND ENVIRONMENT] HAI CH'AO [TIDE], MING JEN [CELEBRITY], TSAI YEH [THE OPPOSITION]... etc. In its issue No 10 of August last year, TA TI SHENG HUO announced that it was voluntarily ceasing publication. TSAI YEH was started by new elements in the Youth Party, and its inaugural issue was published in January of this year. Its opinions are expressed quite sharply, departing in style from those of the Youth Party, which for a long time expressed only KMT political views. Before the "MEILI TAO incident," there was a nonparty magazine, HSIA CH'AO [SUMMER TIDE], which was quite popular at that time. In February 1979, it was forced to shut down for 1 year, and so should have resumed publication in 1980, but in fact it has not yet done so. Madame Su Ch'ing-li, chief editor of this publication, recently announced that it would resume publication with this year's January issue under a changed name, HSAI CH'AO LUN T'AN [SUMMER TIDE FORUM]. However, the publication of HSAI CH'AO LUN T'AN will not add to the number of nonparty publications, because, before this happens Madame Su will still be chief editor of SHENG HUO YU HUAN CHING, which is sponsored by HUANG Shun-hsing, and Mr Huang is preparing to leave the country to engage in advanced studies and is thinking of temporarily ceasing publication of SHENG HUO YU HUAN CHING, so, with one stopping and one resuming publication, the total number will not change.

PO KUAN, CHENG CHIH CHIA, and SHEN KENG Banned

The nonparty publications are in the precarious position of possibly being banned at any time. It is said that at the beginning of October last year five magazines were banned. For example, take the magazine PO KUAN, whose chief editor is Lin Cho-shui. In October of last year, its issue No 2 was confiscated because it advocated the formation of political parties. At that time many people thought that it would be forced to cease publication for one year, but afterward, through the intervention of T'ang Nin-hsiang, a nonparty member of the Legislative Yuan, it was finally allowed to continue and publish its No 3 issue. In issue No 3, this publication made a stern protest to the authorities under the bold headline "Return My Freedom of Speech." Because PO KUAN in its issue No 4 discussed the question of human rights, it was banned. According to my understanding, three articles brought up this question:

- 1) "The Fight To Protect Human Rights--History of the Postwar Human Rights Movement in Taiwan," written by Lin Cho-shui;
- 2) "Solemn Statement by Netherlands Government and Parliament on Destruction of Human Rights in Taiwan," published by this publication's morgue; and
- 3) "Big Debate Between Sun Yun-hsuan and Wang Ping-chang."

Issue No 3 of CHENG CHIH CHIA, whose chief editor is Teng Wei-hsien, was banned; its issue No 40, published at the end of October of last year, was

was banned because of a charge that it published a speech delivered at a forum by Lin Cheng-chieh, member of the Taipei Municipal Legislative Assembly, the import of which was: if the Chinese communists, despite everything, take military action against Taiwan, the latter would be helpless. Probably, the Taiwan government fears most of all talk that it does not have the force to resist the Chinese communists militarily, with the consequent collapse of the morale of its soldiers and people, so it banned the issue. However, the authorities' dissatisfaction with CHENG CHIH CHIA did not stop at this point. After 6 days had passed, the Information Office of the Taipei Municipal Government formally notified CHENG CHIH CHIA that it must cease publication for 1 year. Therefore, this magazine will not reappear on the market. It is reported that Teng Wei-hsien has applied for permission to start a new magazine, MIN CHU JEN [DEMOCRAT], which will begin publication shortly.

Contrary to what one would expect, SHEN KENG, published by Lin Cheng-chief himself, has had a stroke of good fortune. Its November issue, No 23, was originally banned. When intelligence and security personnel rushed to the binding plant they were blocked at the entrance and pulled about. SHEN KENG personnel took this opportunity to take away a large number of the magazine's issue that had not been bound, causing the intelligence and security personnel to come up empty handed. Repulsed, the intelligence and security personnel wanted them to blot out the words "MEI LI TAO Incident Special" on the front cover and to excise part of the magazine's contents. The result was that this publication that very night enlisted its manpower to completely black out that part of 20,000 copies of SHEN KENG, and finally preserved the publication of this issue. However, since its inaugural issue, six issues (Nos 3,5,6,10,11, and 12) of SHEN KENG have been banned.

The magazine MING JEN, published in Taichung, did not have this good fortune. The December issue, No 8, of this publication carried three articles, the contents of which were considered by the Police General Headquarters to "incite bad feelings between the government and the people" and to "confuse the public," and the issue was banned. These three articles were: "A Myriad Feelings Well Up in My Mind at the Thought of Suo Jen-ni's Suffering," "The Popular Will and Lifelong Service as a Representative of the Popular Will," and "How To Recover the Mainland by Recovering Taiwan's Spirit." According to statistics, this is the third time the publication has been banned since it was started.

Each Has Its Backer, Each Seeks Common Ground Amid Differences

These nonparty magazines give the KMT authorities a considerable headache. If they are completely banned, Taiwan will lose its surface appearance and impression internationally of being a democracy with freedom of speech; if they are not banned, the authorities fear that their expression of political views will become bolder and sharper and that they will become increasingly unmanageable. Therefore, the authorities are, by and large, forced to put up with their existence, and only when they overstep the bounds of expression of political views do the authorities ban them.

In fact, all these nonparty magazines have backers, and the great majority of them are sponsored by nonparty members of legislatures. For example, PA SHIH NIEN TAI and YA CHOU JEN are published by T'ang Ning-hsiang, a nonparty Legislative Yuan member; SHEN KENG is run by Hsu Jung-ch'i, a nonparty Legislative Yuan member, and Lin Cheng-chieh, a nonparty member of the Taiwan Municipal Legislative Assembly; KUAN HUAI is run by Chou Ch'ing-yu, a nonparty National Assembly representative, and Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing, a nonparty member of the Taiwan Municipal Legislative Assembly; PO KUAN is run by Yu Ch'ing a nonparty Control Yuan member; and TAI PIAO SHIH is run by Su Ch'iu-chen, a nonparty Legislative Yuan member. Among the nonparty personages, T'ang Ning-hsiang is regarded a moderate, and Lin Cheng-chieh calls himself a nonparty representative of the new generation. Therefore, beginning with its issue No 11, SHEN KENG attacked T'ang Ning-hsiang's "moderation." After internal coordination among the nonparty personages, it stopped its attacks beginning with issue No 19.

The nonparty personages have become a political force. They are agreed on the general goal of contending with the KMT, but among themselves there exist quite a lot of divergent opinions. Keng Jung-shui, head of the special column department of TZU LI WAN PAO, said: "The nonparty forces today, I must frankly say, constitute a very diffuse political group that lacks organization and a specific scope; on the surface the nonparty forces profess to have 30 percent of the vote, but... among them are true nonparty and false nonparty forces... if we subtract the 'fake' nonparty forces, I think the true nonparty forces now in the mainstream would not account for as much as 10 percent of the vote." (CHENG CHIH CHIA, NO 13) No matter whether 10 or 30 percent is correct, in Taiwan, besides the single big party--KMT--there in fact exists a powerful opposition force. This force has seats on the legislative assemblies from the center down to the localities, and also has a definite influence in public opinion circles. Its strength has grown, not diminished, since the "MEI LI TAO incident" 3 years ago. However, the nonparty personages drew a lesson from this incident and have done their best to avoid violent actions, hoping to contend with the KMT by legal means.

Most of Taiwan's Constitution Has Been Eaten Away by the Rebellion-Suppression Article and Martial Law

Nonparty personages are now contending with the KMT over several major questions, viz, formulation of the fundamental law of the land, reconstitution of the National Assembly, lifting of martial law, lifting of bans on political parties and the press, and passage of general guidelines for provincial and county self-rule.

In saying this, there is some satire. Just as I wrote at the beginning of this article, in the recent period all the government organizations and public structures in Taipei were festooned with colored horizontal tablets in commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the constitution, but the nonparty personages were demanding the formulation of the fundamental law of the land. This was the same thing as singing a different tune from the KMT's commemoration of the constitution.

The constitution that the KMT is now praising itself as putting into effect in Taiwan is the constitution that was drawn up on the mainland in 1947. For the time being, no matter whether the constitution drawn up then was good or bad, ever since the KMT's political power on the mainland was swallowed up by the Communist Party and the KMT retreated to Taiwan, the KMT has proclaimed that Taiwan was in a special military period, their so-called "period of mobilizing to suppress rebellion," and therefore they promulgated the "provisional article for the period of mobilizing to suppress rebellion" and "martial law," which lay many restrictions on the articles of the constitution, so that the entire constitution has been hacked at until it is injured all over.

For example, according to a provision of the constitution, the term of office of the president and vice president is 6 years, and they can only be reelected to one more consecutive term. But the "provisional article for mobilizing to suppress rebellion" clearly stipulates that the president and vice president can be reelected to an unlimited number of consecutive terms and are not restricted by the constitution's provision for only one consecutive reelection.

Also, for example, the constitution stipulates that the president's proclamation of martial law must be approved or retroactively endorsed by the Legislative Yuan, which also has the power to make the president declare the lifting of martial law. However, the provisional article stipulates that the president, in a time of national emergency, has the power, through a session of the Executive Yuan, to take emergency measures and is not restricted by the constitution. The principal members of the Executive Yuan are selected at a regular meeting of the KMT Central Committee and are appointed by the president. The Executive Yuan is the president's cabinet. Relying on the provisional article, the president can justifiably circumvent the democratically elected Legislative Yuan, make unlimited demands on it, put martial law into effect, and, in the name of the "period of suppressing rebellion," concentrate all power in the hands of one individual.

Also, for example, the provisional article stipulates that the president has the power, during the period of suppressing rebellion, to set up organizations for suppressing rebellion. Accordingly, the "Taiwan Provincial Garrison Headquarters" has come into being, putting all public order under the control of military law.

Taiwan has been under martial law for 32 years, and still no sign of its being lifted can be seen. The KMT has time and again propagated the statement that although Taiwan has been in a state of martial law for a long time, ordinary people have not felt its existence. Of course, there is some truth in this statement. This is because the *raison d'être* of Taiwan's martial law is to prevent infiltration by the Communist Party. So long as there is no direct military clash on the two sides of the strait, there will be no curfew in Taiwan. Without a curfew the ordinary people do not readily feel the existence of martial law. Therefore, the ordinary people bustle about in the same old way. In Taipei's Hsimen quarter, there are

huge crowds at night. Those people who need to exchange toasts and lead a life of debauchery carry on in the same old way, playing, singing, feasting, and dancing, and leading a life of luxury and dissipation.

Looked at from the angle of human rights and of democracy in society, the martial law's infringement on human rights and democracy is very great. People within the party have a keen understanding of this point. The nonparty forces cannot develop with facility, and they are subject to all sorts of restrictions imposed by the centralization of power in one man's hand under the name of the KMT's suppression of rebellion.

The Basis for Attacking and Loosening the KMT's Single-Party Dictatorship

For a long time, Taiwan's National Assembly has been the object of public denunciation. People satirically call it the "Ten Thousand-Year National Assembly." The representatives of this National Assembly were elected on the mainland in 1947. After the KMT's political power withdrew from the mainland to Taiwan, on the surface it maintained the rule of a national nature that it had on the mainland, when in fact it was left with only one province--Taiwan. Therefore, there was no way for a new National Assembly, which is of a national nature, to be elected, with the result that many representatives elected in 1947 hold their seats to this day. However, time is inexorable. Many representatives of the old National Assembly have died of old age or migrated abroad, and even those of the living who remain in Taiwan are drooping with old age. In order to remedy the natural attrition among National Assembly representatives, the KMT thought of the method of holding elections to fill vacancies in the proper order. Obviously, this kind of National Assembly does not have a truly representative nature. For a long time, nonparty personages have advocated that the National Assembly be reconstituted, but no reconstitution can remedy the drawback that Taiwan is in fact only one province and can produce a National Assembly of a national nature. The goal of the nonparty personages in advocating the reconstitution of the National Assembly, the formulation of the fundamental law of the land, and the lifting of martial law is to attack and loosen the tight rule of the KMT's single-party dictatorship in the hope that the KMT will then lift its bans on political parties and the press and let the nonparty personages formally establish political parties, thereby creating a situation in which there is a legal counterweight to the KMT and in which they have a share of state power.

Already Publicly Advocating Establishment of New Political Parties

Concerning the question of establishing political parties, when Lei Chen was running the magazine TZU YU CHUNG KIU [FREE CHINA] in the 1950's, he had a plan to set up another political party, the China Democratic Party, which would exist outside the KMT. The result was that TZU YU CHUNG KUO was closed down and that Lei Chen was for a long time put under house arrest and surveillance. Before the year turned, he passed away.

In 1979, Huang Hsin-chieh and others ran the magazine MEI LI TAO. Inside this framework, he thought that by running a magazine he would lay among the

masses a foundation for establishing a new political party. Therefore, he set up offices of this magazine in several major cities of Taiwan, frequently held rallies, and drew the masses over to his side, even staging a large-scale demonstration in the name of Human Rights Day. The result was that, after the leader of the magazine had incited the feelings of the masses, even he himself was unable to control them, finally leading to a riot. This gave the KMT a reason for suppressing the magazine, and it arrested all persons connected with MEI LI TAO in one fell swoop.

The KMT originally thought that, by making this mass arrest, they could defeat and disperse the nonparty forces. How could they foresee that some family members of the leader of MEI LI TAO, burning with indignation, would give battle, and in several election contests, gain back the support of the masses, especially the support of the masses of Taiwan natives, and win many victories. Consequently, the nonparty forces have grown over these 3 years. Precisely on this basis, the question of establishing political parties is being publicly brought up today.

In July of last year, four leading figures among the nonparty personages --T'ang Ning-hsiang, Yu Ch'ing, Huang Huang-hsiung, and Chang Te-ying--went to America together on invitation with the qualifications of being representatives of the popular will at the center of the political spectrum. After they returned to Taiwan, Yu Ch'ing was the first one to raise the question of organizing parties. Issue No 2, October 1982, of his magazine PO KUAN was a special issue devoted to the topic of setting up opposition parties. Because of it, the KMT became nervous and instigated all of its intermediaries in disseminating its views to mount a counterattack, and also impelled KMT members in the Legislative Yuan to chime in. The KMT's reasoning was: With the present confrontation across the straits between it and the communists, if it were to allow new political parties to be set up, they would be bound to spring up in large numbers, creating confusion and intranquility in society. Therefore, on 24 September 1982, Interior Minister Lin Yang-kang, when answering a question in the Legislative Yuan, openly stated: "If any new political party is being organized, the competent authorities will respond by putting a stop to it by legal means."

Yu Ch'ing's bringing up of the question of setting up political parties was both an attempt and a probe. He forced the KMT to hastily show its hand on this question: "not allowed." Because the KMT has publicly stated that it will not allow the setting up of parties, if the nonparty forces stubbornly insist on doing so, there is bound to be a confrontation between the tough and the tough, and strength will have to be brought up. At present, the nonparty forces do not have this kind of strength, and so they are forced, with regard to this question, to remain at the level of propaganda and theoretical debate, and there is still no one who dares to take action.

Under these circumstances in which it seems as if daggers are drawn, there has been a "false alarm." On 28 September 1982, the nonparty personages held a meeting at the Sun Yatsen Memorial Hall. This was their biggest public

activity in recent years, and for a short time the rumor arose in swarms that the nonparty personages were preparing to announce at this meeting the establishing of a new party. In fact, the nonparty personages were not unanimous in their views about establishing a party. Some of them, like Keng Jung-shui, thought that at the present time there was insufficient strength to establish a new party; some of them, like Hsieh Ch'ang-t'ing and Lin Cheng-chieh, thought that they could start preparations but did not advocate an immediate establishment. Only Yu Ch'ing and people around him really advocated the immediate setting up of an opposition party. Therefore, under these circumstances, the "28 September" meeting at the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall naturally would not be likely to put the question of establishing a party on its agenda. The meeting that day lay particular emphasis on harmonizing the nonparty personages into taking a "common stand." This stand is now indicated to be "peaceful reform within the system," i.e., the carrying out of peaceful reform within the system of KMT rule. This is the program of action unanimously agreed upon by the nonparty personages at the present stage.

Is It a "Taiwan Independence" Movement Or a Democratic Movement?

Generally speaking, most of the people who migrated to Taiwan in the wake of the KMT's withdrawal from the mainland do not support the nonparty personages. They have always thought that these people represent the political force of the natives of Taiwan and are Taiwan-independence elements who retain a regional bias. In fact, there really are many natives of Taiwan among the nonparty personages, and some of them cannot avoid a tendency to favor Taiwan's independence to some extent. However, the true Taiwan-independence elements are in exile abroad, mainly in America and Japan. In recent years, these true Taiwan-independence elements have not been supported by the people of Taiwan, because the theory of "Taiwan nationality" independent of Chinese nationality, which in fact is not tenable. Everyone understands that the so-called people of Taiwan, except for a small number of minority nationalities living in the mountains, all migrated from the mainland, especially from Fukien Province. This is an historical fact which is beyond dispute. The nonparty personages in Taiwan now basically acknowledge that this historical fact does not jibe with the "Taiwan nationality" theory. If we say that nonparty personages have a tendency toward "Taiwan independence," then this means that they incline toward Taiwan's self-rule and even toward Taiwan's self-rule free from the mainland's political power. This is because they both fear the Communist Party system on the mainland and cannot set any possibility that Taiwan's strength alone would be able to change this system. Long ago they tired of hearing the KMT government's abusive talk about counterattacking the mainland, and they are incapable of believing that the strength of this small island of Taiwan would be adequate to change the entire political coloration of the Chinese mainland. In the end they were left with no way out but to withdraw and seek another time, and since leaving the mainland out of the picture they think of Taiwan's preservation. This is the psychological source of their inclination toward "Taiwan independence." This psychological state and the fallacy of the theory of "Taiwan nationality" cannot be mentioned in the same breath.

I think that it is easy for the people of Hong Kong to understand the nature of this mental attitude toward "Taiwan independence." In Hong Kong, naturally, it is unlikely that there will be people who will take the preposterous step of creating a "theory of Hong Kong nationality." However, the people of Hong Kong fear the Communist Party system and have the mental attitude of hoping that Hong Kong will be independent of the Communist Party system on the mainland; like the people of Taiwan, this attitude is prominent and widespread among the people of Hong Kong. Therefore, the people of Hong Kong have not advocated "Hong Kong's independence." This is only because, under the circumstances, they feel Hong Kong's independence would not be possible, not because they do not desire this independence. In previous times when discussing Hong Kong's future, some people have advocated that Hong Kong become a free city under UN jurisdiction. This is a manifestation of the complexities inherent in the concept of Hong Kong's independence.

In fact, if one were to try in Taiwan to advocate Taiwan independence, one would find that one's hands would be completely tied. The Communist Party does not permit the de facto emergence of Taiwan's independence while the KMT does not permit the existence of discussion of Taiwan's independence. Therefore, the nonparty personages in Taiwan have never been able to directly reveal their inclination toward "Taiwan's independence." They even do not dare to reveal their inclination toward Taiwan's self-rule (at present, Communist Party members in Hong Kong are talking a lot about "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong," and in Taiwan they certainly do not dare to advocate "Taiwan people ruling Taiwan for, if they do, they will be suspected of being Taiwan-independence elements. At most, they can only talk about provincial and county self-rule). They concentrate on their old struggle goal of "peaceful reform within the system," the central topics of which are: lifting bans on the press, lifting the ban on political parties, lifting martial law, reconstituting the National Assembly, and formulating the fundamental law of the land. All these topics fall within the scope of democracy, legality, and human rights. In this sense, the nonparty movement in Taiwan basically should be placed in the category of democratic movements. It is Taiwan's derivative of China's democratic movement that possesses Taiwan's own distinguishing features.

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